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CONTENTS

PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

| | |
|---|----|
| USSR Journal Calls on Socialists To Assess Relations With PRC (Milan Bekic; VJESNIK, 31 May 78) | 1 |
| Background, Substance of USSR-CSSR Alliance Treaty Discussed (Frantisek Krajcir; ZIVOT STRANY, Apr 78) | 4 |
| CSSR Editor Explains Fraternal 'Assistance' in 1968 (Jaroslav Juncik; Prague Domestic Service, 7 Jun 78) .. | 11 |
| Romanian-Hungarian Harmony in Cluj-Napoca Faculty (Andrei Rusu; VIATA STUDENTEASCA, 10 May 78) | 13 |
| Situation of Romanian Transylvanians in 1773 Examined (Valeriu Buduru; MAGAZIN ISTORIC, May 78) | 16 |
| Hungarian Work on Dacians Excerpted by Romanians (Augustin Deac; MAGAZIN ISTORIC, May 78) | 23 |
| Romanians Recall Horrors of Horthyist Hungary (A. Simion; CONTEMPORANUL, 19 May 78) | 29 |
| Romanian Writer Asserts Friendship With Minorities (Romulus Guga; CONTEMPORANUL, 19 May 78) | 34 |

ALBANIA

| | |
|--|----|
| Party Journal on Eurocommunism, 'Three Worlds' Theory (Hajro Zeneli; RRUGA E PARTISE, Apr 78) | 36 |
|--|----|

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

USSR JOURNAL CALLS ON SOCIALISTS TO ASSESS RELATIONS WITH PRC

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 78 p 2 AU

[Permanent Correspondent Milan Bekic Reports from Moscow]

[Text] Moscow--The struggle against the ideology and policy of Maoism is one of the most important internationalist tasks of all Marxists-Leninists... This struggle is assuming an increasingly more intensive character and is actually becoming an internationalist obligation... This is all the more the case because contemporary Maoists are launching new ideological and political offensives on Marxism-Leninism, directing their blows against the forces fighting for peace and democracy, against real socialism and world evolutionary processes...

These are some of the sentences from a lengthy article entitled "the anti-Leninist essence of the ideology and policy of contemporary Maoists," which is published in the latest issue of the periodical RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNYY MIR of the institute for international workers movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences (the periodical is not yet on sale). The quoted assessments, it appears, introduce new emphases and qualities not only in the Soviet-Chinese relations, but also sound as a "general appeal" and demand on all parties and on all socialist countries to reexamine their relations with the PRC and to fulfil their internationalist obligation. The article is also another confirmation of the extreme Soviet sensitiveness and nervousness to any move taken by anyone toward China, or to any move by China toward anyone and anywhere in the world.

"Corrections" and Qualifications

If one takes the article by academician A. Sobolyev, chief editor of the periodical which publishes it, as a "broad" and long-term basis for one's approach to "Maoism" (and obviously this is the article's intention), then one should first say that the article means a perceptible "correction" of the Soviet theory and treatment of this term. Only a few years ago, for instance, it was written and attempted to prove that "Maoism" was the work of a single man and of the group around him, and that with Mao Tse-tung's

disappearance "Maoism" would also disappear. However, now it is claimed that there will be still long decades of a difficult struggle against this evil theory, which is calculated to defile Marxism-Leninism, undermine real socialism and destroy the socialist community.

The truth is, the author says, that Mao Tse-tung was the initiator and champion of "Maoism," but that it is now already clear to all that his teaching did not die with him. His successors, he believes, concealing themselves ever more and more skillfully behind "phrases and citations from Marxism," are launching ever more dangerous and well-thought-out offensives calculated on a long term basis.

Certain publicists and journalists, Sobolyev complains, do not see this danger and exaggerate the "Chinese experiences in building socialism." They do not understand, according to the author, that Mao's successors, by extolling his teachings and by proclaiming him as an "equal and lasting heir of Marx-Engels-Lenin works," are only putting up a new mask behind which a bloody internal settling of accounts continues, as well as the more subtle--"flexible"--policy of contemporary Maoists, which is less phrasemongering and less repulsive, but which is precisely for this reason--more dangerous.

The author arrives at these conclusions by analyzing the documents of the last CCP Congress, the decisions of the National People's Congress and the latest policy of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and his associates. The author "more deeply studies" the notion of Maoism, presents its "anatomy" and concludes that the "general laws of socialist building" have been undermined to such an extent that "from the scientific viewpoint" one can really no longer speak about socialism in that country.

Socialism in the Chinese society, he defines, is a militarized petit bourgeois system based on a "levelling of wages" and "barracks." This is a "socialism" that Maoists artificially deformed in the direction of great khans and hegemony...In addition to blaming Mao, the author also sees deeper causes in the history of feudal China and the Chinese philosophy, in the mentality and in the other social roots and circumstances.

For this reason he does not accept those analyses made abroad that say that the Chinese society is based on socialist foundations considering that the property belongs to the state or the cooperative. The author believes that this is a simplified view because--in addition to property--the character of a society is also determined by the social relations that prevail in it, by its superstructure and by other characteristics that, in his view, do not exist in the PRC. "Maoism," Sobolyev believes, "has developed as parasitism, nourished on the sap of the Chinese revolution, real socialism, the world revolutionary process, while misusing the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

Old and New Causes

His analyses and arguments lead to the conclusion that the PRC is not a socialist country. "Its behavior is," he adds, "a tyranny over Marxism-Leninism."

In the domestic field, Sobolyev claims, the Chinese society is deformed to such an extent that the workers class is "lost" in it, while the country is ruled and all the decisions are made by a "social-chauvinistic leadership," which is weaving Maoism into the world revolutionary process. For this reason Maoism is not merely a Chinese problem, but a world problem, "a problem of a general ideological struggle through which, in a thorough transformation of the Chinese society of real, socialist foundations, Maoism must be destroyed."

The Maoist doctrine and practice, the author continues, is extremely dangerous on the international plane. The "three worlds" theory is damaging in several ways and is aimed directly at the Soviet Union. For, of the two superpowers of the "first aggressive world" (the United States, the USSR), the author of the Chinese theory interprets, "the Soviet social-imperialism is on the offensive," while the "U.S. imperialism is defending itself..." This foreign political strategy of contemporary Maoists is basically social-chauvinistic and hegemonistic, it contains an anti-Soviet, antisocialist and antirevolutionary character...This is not a temporary tactical maneuver, but rather a strategy planned for long decades...

The policy of Maoists in the international workers movement, the author believes, is damaging to the same extent. Its main task is--to weaken the Soviet Union, to achieve its political, ideological and military isolation in the international arena, to be followed by the destruction of the entire community of the socialist countries...

If one were to seek the answer to the question why all this is set forth precisely at this moment, why the already too tense Soviet-Chinese and wider relations are now being strained and for what reason Peking is accused of making direct attempts "to ideologically and militarily isolate the USSR" and of "destroying the socialist community" (from which the author concludes that "one of the most important tasks of all Marxist-Leninists is to oppose this"), one has to recall that the article was written precisely at the time of Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to Peking, the DPRK, Vietnam and Kampuchea, and directly on the eve of the arrival in the PRC capital of Zbigniew Brzezinski, U.S. President Carter's national security adviser. It was written at the time of a new incident on the Ussuri River and the latest Soviet-Chinese accusations about interference in Africa, about the strengthening of the Chinese links with the EEC countries and Japan, in particular.

It is obvious that all this provokes a pronounced Soviet sensitiveness and that it cannot pass unnoticed among the theoreticians in the USSR who, it is believed, were made by all this to appeal for a common "campaign against Maoism." However, the question is what response will this appeal meet in the international communist movement and whether it will be supported by anyone other than those whose behavior toward Peking was already such as the Soviet theoretician now demands.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BACKGROUND, SUBSTANCE OF USSR-CSSR ALLIANCE TREATY DISCUSSED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 9, Apr 78 pp 6-8

[Article by Frantisek Krajcir, member of the Central Committee, CPCZ, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, CSSR: "In the closest alliance"]

[Text] During these days the Czechoslovak people will recall the important event which will remain forever written in gold letters in the history of Czechoslovak-Soviet mutual relations. Eight years ago in May, on the eve of the celebration of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet army, the new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the CSSR and USSR was signed in the Vladislav hall of the Prague castle, which we rightly consider the main pillar of security and successful construction of a developed socialist society in our fatherland.

The Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty of alliance, based on class, fraternal relations, offers a comprehensive assessment of the basic tenets of mutual relations formulated on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It includes the principles of mutual assistance, equality, and the necessary joint defense of socialist achievements. It has become an important foundation for the successful development of cooperation and consolidation of friendship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet people.

At the workers demonstration in the courtyard of the Prague castle on the occasion of the signing of the document, Comrade G. Husak stated: "The alliance treaty concluded today provides our people with assurance and fresh prospects for further development. We are going to observe it faithfully and firmly, side by side with the Soviet Union, thoroughly conscious that Western Czechoslovak frontiers also belong to the socialist camp and that the development of our state is possible only with closest alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist states."

The Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty proceeds fully from the chief goals of the 1943 alliance treaty, which had an important role in the struggle for our liberation. It became the legal basis of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army and an important external factor in our country's socialist development under complicated postwar circumstances.

During the war Czechoslovak-Soviet relations, whose chief significance lay in the struggle against fascism, developed into a fighting friendship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet people. This fighting unity between the peoples of the CSSR and USSR reached its peak during the Slovak popular uprising in 1944 and the May 1945 people's uprising in Bohemia, when the military actions of the national liberation movement and war operations of the Soviet army were coordinated in the interest of Czechoslovakia's swifter liberation.

It was very important for the prospects of the further development of postwar Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation that it expressed the longstanding wishes of the Czechoslovak people as a result of the tragic events of Munich's betrayal as well as from the course of the national liberation struggle. Added to this was the Soviet people's decisive contribution toward German fascism's defeat and the Soviet army's part in Czechoslovakia's liberation. This will of the Czechoslovak people was clearly reflected, thanks to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in the Kosice government program, which declared friendship and cooperation with the USSR to be the key tenet of our foreign policy.

After very bad experiences with political and economic development under the bourgeois republic, after the war the CPCZ insisted that Czechoslovakia's foreign policy orientation and efficient economic cooperation receive emphasis. Economic cooperation, under the conditions of that time, was the only significant factor in the international economic field on which our party could fully rely in its struggle for the socialist character of our country. This goal was considerably hastened by the Soviet Union's understanding of our country's needs, even though it had suffered itself tremendous human losses and material damage during the war. The Soviet people first proved their sincere desire to develop economic cooperation and assistance on the basis of the alliance treaty. Immediately after the war the USSR began to deliver to Czechoslovakia basic raw materials essential for reopening production in our enterprises, without requiring contractual guarantees of reciprocal deliveries, which we promised.

Also, during the critical months of the second half of 1947, when reactionary forces exploited popular discontent and planned to cause economic chaos, further development depended largely on the solution of economic problems, primarily that of supplying the population with food. All our republic's progressive forces were obviously not indifferent as to whether the necessary help would come from the Soviet Union or from Marshal Plan resources.

In a very serious and critical food supply situation caused by severe draught, the USSR Government acceded to the request of the CPCZ leadership and Clement Gottwald. It sent additional shipments: deliveries of grain, foodstuffs and raw materials. These Soviet grain deliveries--totaling 600,000 tons, supplied under advantageous financial conditions and on credit--exceeded almost twice the amount of grain purchased from our country's 1947 harvest. This internationalist, comradely assistance from the Soviet

people helped to overcome the greatest postwar supply difficulties and contributed to consolidating revolutionary forces at the time when class struggle loomed over our society's further development and the character of our independent state.

The outcome of the glorious February 1948 events fully confirmed that the alliance with the Soviet Union is irreplaceable for the Czechoslovak people. The Czechoslovak working class and other toilers were able to take care of political reaction within the country with their own forces, but this was possible only because the USSR prevented any foreign intervention into the internal events in Czechoslovakia.

After February 1948 our country was fully integrated into the progressive stream of world development. Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship and cooperation have become the permanent value of socialist internationalism. Czechoslovakia's international position has been reinforced further, and simultaneously the over-all process of the development of the world socialist revolution has intensified. Czechoslovak fraternal relations with the Soviet people has become an intrinsic part of the socialist community's international cooperation.

In the economic field, mutual cooperation between the two countries, together with people's democratic states, has been reflected in the founding of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [CEMA].

Socialist construction in Czechoslovakia at that time developed under a more favorable world correlation of forces than when the isolated USSR entered onto the path of socialist construction. Our people could already fully rely on the economically and militarily strong Soviet Union, whose influence in the world has been steadily increasing. The political situation in the CSSR and in other people's democracies has been consolidated, the economy successfully restored and socialist transformation launched with great effort. The Soviet experience has served as a model, making it possible to avoid mistakes and errors, thus speeding up the course of socialist construction already under way.

By increasing tensions as far as the brink of a third world war, by terror and economic discrimination, the imperialists tried in vain to paralyze the building of socialism in the people's democracies and weaken the influence of the USSR on socialist society's consolidation and development. This resulted in an even closer political cohesion of socialist countries and in their intensification of economic and scientific-technological cooperation based on economic agreements coordinated in CEMA. Strengthened unity and deepened mutual cooperation have thus become the best answer to imperialist pressure. Even though the hostile imperialist policy has caused difficulties for the countries building a socialist society and has often required extraordinary measures to overcome them, it did not have the slightest success in disrupting the internal development of the people's democratic countries. The imperialists were convinced of this at the time of the solution of the 1968 political crisis in Czechoslovakia, when the

resolute attitude of the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries frustrated the counterrevolutionary aims of antisocialist forces and foreign reactionary forces. Not by accident, the sharpest attacks of the rightist forces in 1968, with support from international reactionary forces, were directed primarily against the USSR, our mutual cooperation and the permanent and unalterable foundation of our foreign policy orientation. As a result of the assault and activation of rightist and antisocialist forces whose representatives penetrated the leadership of the party and the state, there was such widespread disintegration in our country that the principles and aims of the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty of December 1943 were grossly violated, and all the gains made by our working people after February 1948 were seriously threatened. The treacherous danger of the counterrevolution consisted in the fact that its antipopular and antisocialist aims were masked by false slogans about the so-called need to improve and democratize socialism. International assistance from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries fully confirmed that socialism is able to defend its existence and achievements if the collective force of socialist countries resists the coordinated attack of international imperialism. This truly international help fully assured the internal and external need for the Czechoslovak people's peaceful work. It frustrated the hopes of the imperialist circles for possible revision of the results of World War II.

The restoration of principles of proletarian internationalism in the work of our Communist Party and in Czechoslovak foreign policy was one of the important aids to consolidation that began after the April 1969 CPCZ Central Committee Plenum. Soviet-Czechoslovak mutual relations have not only been fully restored but even strengthened.

The new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the CSSR and USSR concluded in May 1970 thus became an objective expression of the status achieved and was in full agreement with the people's wishes in both countries. In the spirit of this important document, thanks to coordinated action with the USSR, the CSSR has achieved considerable results in all fields in recent years. The recent CPCZ Central Committee's 11th meeting convincingly traced the successful path traversed by the Czechoslovak people in the period just past. Completion of the 15th congress' socioeconomic program, whose main assignments are being consistently fulfilled, was given primary attention. The economy's dynamic development, for instance, is seen in the fact that economic growth continued during 1975-1977, reaching 36 percent of the volume planned for the entire five-year plan. Good results were shown in industry, where during both years production was 25 billion Czechoslovak coronas higher than the plan envisaged. Also, after a temporary decline due to draught in 1976, agricultural production increased again by 7.5 percent.

In the years following the signing of the treaty, Czechoslovak-Soviet relations have been characterized by fraternal cooperation affecting all spheres of political life, by mutual comradely assistance, constantly increasing activity and bilateral efforts to cooperate in the most effective manner in

the exchange of experience. They are based on a militant bond of Marxist-Leninist parties, which are intensively sharing their experiences and consulting on all common problems and tasks. Traditional friendly meetings between Comrade G. Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, have already been of extraordinary importance for further strengthening relations between the CPCZ and CPSU as well as the peoples of both countries. Meetings of the highest representatives of the CPCZ and CPSU are evidence of the maximum effort and interest in exchanging information about all important bilateral problems of domestic and foreign policy. All these meetings have always confirmed a complete unity of views on problems under discussion and have contributed to greater mutual cooperation.

Societal organizations, especially labor, youth organizations, the women's union, the union of fighters against fascism and others are actively cooperating. Since the signing of the treaty much has been done in the interest of our fraternal cooperation in the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League as well. Cooperation in the field of culture, education, health care, science, etc. plays an important part in our relations. Our fraternal and traditional friendship with the Soviet Union was evidenced in the flight into the cosmos made jointly by the Soviet citizen and our citizen, and in the enthusiastic welcome of all cosmonauts in the CSSR. It has again been fully confirmed how tremendous are the opportunities afforded us by cooperation with the Soviet Union in that field.

Joint and Czechoslovak Soviet foreign policy activities occupy a significant place in Czechoslovak-Soviet relations. Czechoslovak foreign policy, proceeding from the treaty and resolutions of the 15th congress, has fully endorsed the program of continued struggle for peace and international cooperation which was adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress and expanded at the 25th. In its foreign policy, in bilateral relations as well as in all international forums, the CSSR unequivocally has supported this program and now actively contributes to its implementation in close consultation with the USSR and other fraternal countries.

Czechoslovak-Soviet economic cooperation, of invaluable importance for our republic in this period of constructing a mature socialist society, has reached an unprecedented level and volume. In this connection Comrade G. Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, declared at the 15th CPCZ Congress:

"The congress expresses its great appreciation for economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. Without it we would not be able to ensure fulfillment of the long-range need for critical raw materials and energy. Nor would we be able to acquire the best of world technology in a number of fields and solve the problems of scientific-technical development."

Practical experience in building a socialist society in the CSSR has fully confirmed that because of an inadequate domestic raw material base and a highly developed finishing industry, socialist construction and economic development would be unthinkable without the close comradely cooperation with the USSR. This important fact acquires additional significance especially at present, when a more versatile and efficient utilization of all the advantages of an international division of labor and a great demand for efficiency and quality of production are increasingly coming to the fore in the area of economic cooperation.

Czechoslovakia is one of the principal business partners of the Soviet Union. Foreign trade with the USSR has increased in volume by approximately 19 times since 1948, judging by 1975 statistics. Its share of the total turnover of Czechoslovak foreign trade has grown from 2 percent before the war to 16 percent in 1948; in 1975 it already represented one third of the total volume. In the first year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan mutual exchange of goods also showed active growth. In 1976, as compared with 1975, the total turnover grew almost by 13 percent and in 1977, in conformity with the stipulations of the long-term trade agreement, the turnover approached the volume of 5 billion transferable rubles.

To more objectively evaluate our trade relations with the USSR it is necessary to take into account the structure of the exchange of goods, which our republic cannot replace from other sources. The Soviet Union is our main supplier of crude oil, natural gas, iron ore, nonferrous metals, concrete, etc. without which our highly developed industry could not operate. On the other hand, the USSR is the main customer for Czechoslovak machinery and equipment and also represents an important share of consumer goods exports. Thus, thanks to regular deliveries of Soviet raw materials and stable Soviet orders, Czechoslovak industry can develop its production according to plan without being exposed to crisis phenomena. According to the long-range trade agreement for 1976-1980 commercial exchange between the CSSR and USSR during this five-year plan should surpass 24 billion rubles, which is approximately 10 billion more than previously.

In recent years attention in economic relations between the CSSR and USSR is being focused on constant broadening and intensification of certain new forms of cooperation: first of all, specialization and cooperation in production. Practical experience fully confirms that classic forms of goods exchange alone do not suffice, but under the impact of the current socialist economic integration some new, more productive and far more efficient forms of cooperation are emerging. During the years of mutual economic relations between the CSSR and USSR all prerequisites for further expansion of direct production forms and scientific-research cooperation were created--one of the main guarantees of further increase in labor productivity and production efficiency.

In the 8 years since the signing of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance have fully confirmed that fraternal unity with the

USSR and other socialist countries multiplies our forces and that we are capable of solving the most exacting tasks. Bourgeois propaganda constantly tries to minimize the successes in constructing socialism in our country. By hostile slander and various provocations it tries to disturb our friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The imperialists devote tremendous resources to conducting psychological warfare against the socialist states and inciting them against each other, thus trying to create distrust among them. Therefore the problem of intensifying and strengthening unity and friendship among socialist countries is increasingly and urgently being brought to the forefront; this fact was emphasized in our treaty with the Soviet Union.

The alliance treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the CSSR and USSR signed 8 years ago is the direct consequence of that genuine fraternal bond which has always united the Soviet and Czechoslovak communists and the working class of our countries. After the difficult critical years of 1968 and 1969, the treaty also gave our people new prospects for the further socialist development of our fatherland. On our part, we shall observe it faithfully in the future as well, fully aware that further development of socialism in the CSSR is possible only in the most faithful alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist countries.

6314

CSO: 2400

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CSSR EDITOR EXPLAINS FRATERNAL 'ASSISTANCE' IN 1968

Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2230 GMT 7 Jun 78 LD

[Commentary by Jaroslav Juncik]

[Text] This year--with even greater zeal than in previous years--the bourgeois communications media in the West are trying to convince their public that there was no counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia 10 years ago and that, therefore, the fraternal internationalist assistance of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty was superfluous. They also maintain that allegedly the reactionary circles in capitalist countries did not in the least influence the events in Czechoslovakia 10 years ago. They obviously assume that after so many years it is impossible to ascertain the truth and to prove it. However, this in fact is possible.

On 12-13 May 1968, for example a conference of chief secretaries of CPCZ District and regional committees took place in Prague and from this there exists a shorthand record--279 closely written pages, including also the following words of the then general secretary of the party's Central Committee, Aleksander Dubcek--and here I quote literally: On the political scene--and this is a new element in present-day developments--rightist opposition forces, with a varying degree of anticommunist and antisocialist views, are beginning to appear. If we do not change this situation, there is a danger that over a certain period these antisocialist tendencies could increase to such an extent as to cause a serious crisis which could only be solved through a power conflict. The bearers of such anticommunist tendencies swear that they support the revival process. However, I believe that it is important to keep in mind that, should a more favorable situation for these forces arise, they would go over into an open offensive against us. Thus, said Aleksander Dubcek. And he was right. The above-mentioned counterrevolutionary forces, for example, the K-231 [association of former political prisoners], KAN [Club of Committee Non-party Persons] and other reactionary associations, immediately mounted an offensive with the aim of liquidating socialism, tearing Czechoslovakia out of the world socialist community and setting up a so-called pluralist democracy. And they were not alone in their efforts.

At the CPCZ Central Committee session in May 1968, Alexander Dubcek said frankly: The anticommunist tendencies get support from abroad, be it from certain circles of Czechoslovak post-February emigres, or directly from political circles in imperialist states. Incidentally, this was also confirmed at a lecture given at the Institute for International Politics and Economics on 15 June 1968 by Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's current adviser. He said without [word indistinct]: We view what is taking place in Czechoslovakia with sympathy, with interest and we shall support you. And his words did not remain empty words. In the summer of 1968, over 200 experts from the armies of the North Atlantic Pact, and some 300 espionage centers were operating in Czechoslovakia. The possibility of liquidating socialism in Czechoslovakia had such an attraction for the West.

Today the West is puzzled as to why the internationalist assistance of the Warsaw Treaty countries was necessary in August 1968. They are obviously in the dark about a statement made by a Czechoslovak politician of 1968, whom they delight in praising--Josef Smrkovsky--who publically admitted in June, 10 years ago: If we carry on in this direction, nothing but tanks will be able to preserve our socialism. The logic was inexorable. The then Czechoslovak leadership headed by the same Aleksander Dubcek, Smrkovsky and others, proceeded in the above-mentioned direction. That is, in spite of being aware of the threat of a counterrevolution, it failed to take resolute steps which were called for against the anti-socialist elements and against foreign intelligence operations, which strove to destroy socialism in Czechoslovakia. On the contrary, it was its unprincipled policy of compromise which opened wider the door for a counterrevolution.

This made the fraternal international assistance of the Warsaw Treaty countries in August 1968 necessary. It was necessary to prevent the dream of the world's reactionary circles from coming true. This is the truth, the real truth and the only truth, the truth which the bourgeois communication media in the West today are trying hard to distort.

CSO: 2400

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIAN-HUNGARIAN HARMONY IN CLUJ-NAPOCA FACULTY

Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 10 May 78 p 3

[Article by Andrei Rusu: "A Faculty in Which the Quality of the Student, Whether Romanian or Hungarian, Is Honored--the Cluj-Napoca Philology Faculty"]

[Text] The Cluj-Napoca Philology Faculty, one of many such institutes with a tradition in Romania's university life--let us mention personalities such as D. Popovici, Sextil Puscariu, Bogdan Duica, Vasile Bogrea, and many other great professors who have taught here--has set as its goal of honor that of supplying the country with specialty cadres trained to a high level of broad culture, graduates and students, regardless of nationality--Romanian, Hungarian, or German--all united in the noble ideals of Alma Mater Napocensis. Here, as in any other institution of learning, all conditions have been created to allow Hungarian and German students to study in their own language, to learn and popularize their own culture, to develop intensive research endeavors in the faculty aimed toward specific realization of their future profession. Since 1959, when the two universities in Cluj were combined into one and given the names of two great teachers and scientists of Cluj, Victor Babes and Janos Bolyai, the Philology Faculty has functioned with many permanent sections, one of which is taught in Hungarian, another in German. All these sections have operated under absolutely identical conditions, with no discrimination whatsoever, based on the conviction that every graduate, regardless of nationality, must be prepared well enough to contribute fully to the development of his homeland, Romania.

Starting with the admittance examination, this noble aim is illustrated by the opportunity every candidate has of taking the exam in his mother tongue. In all competitive subjects, including for Hungarian students who are not competing in the Hungarian section but in a section whose main language is one of the international foreign languages, the entire examination can be taken, if the candidate so wishes, in his mother tongue. "There is not the slightest obstacle in the way of helping the best candidates to become students in our faculty. We have never allowed the candidate's nationality to guide us in making our selections, and we never will; as far as we are concerned, all of them are young people desirous of coming into the faculty. There is just one criterion: the best, the best prepared, invariably wins

out," says Prof Dr Octavian Schiau, dean of the faculty. Proof of this is seen in the fact that of the more than 900 students enrolled in daytime courses, about 300 are of Hungarian nationality, enrolled either in the section where instruction is in Hungarian or in other sections specializing in French, German, Russian, and so on. All specialty disciplines are taught in Hungarian for those who so wish, including the social sciences. Likewise, seminars and all activities in general are conducted in Hungarian.

In addition to this professional training provided in the native language by experienced teaching cadres, students of Hungarian and German nationality have the opportunity to enlarge their professional training through a broad range of activities conducted in their native language, along with their Romanian colleagues. Worth mentioning in this regard is a special, elaborated scientific research activity in which the students opt for research themes that interest them, focusing particularly on problems of Hungarian literary works created in Romania and long-term cooperative ties between Romanian and Hungarian writers. Here is a selective list of themes prepared for this year's report session: "Stylistic Relations Among Personalities in the Novels of Jokai Mor" (Balla Ilona, fourth year, Hungarian section); "The Theory of Parody of Style" (Kis Geza, third year, Hungarian section); "Names of Persons from Satu Mare County" (Hosszu Eva, fourth year, Hungarian section) --a paper that was preceded by intensive documentation in the field. Many of the research themes treat aspects--often original--of the activities of Hungarian cultural figures, writers, poets, and so on.

For this session, there is special interest in a paper being prepared by Biro Zoltan (fourth year, Hungarian section) entitled "Contributions to a Sociolinguistic Analysis of Pupil Development in the Process of Instruction," which is in fact an extensive documented survey developed by the author in Hungarian-language schools of Odorheiul Secuiesc and several communities in Harghita County.

Hungarian students in the other sections present interesting papers each year dealing with aspects of literary works in the respective language, contrasting the foreign language with Hungarian, problems of comparative literature, translation into and from Hungarian, and so on.

Along with such research activities, the philology student's training is perfected through practical application. As the associate dean, Dr Ban Elek emphasizes, Hungarian students have the opportunity to do practice teaching in the Hungarian-language high schools of Cluj-Napoca: Liceu [high school] No 11, Liceu Brassai, General School No 3, and Liceu Ady Sincai. In these places, very interesting political-ideological and cultural-educational work is done with Romanian pupils and students, all essentially comprised in a unique practice plan drawn up in entirety by the dean's office. In addition to practice teaching, students of Hungarian nationality spend a substantial amount of their practice term in libraries, processing Hungarian-language holdings or preparing documentation for particular themes of specified practicality; this year, for example, intensive work is being done on editing the

index of the magazine KORUNK (second year, Hungarian section), a frequency list of the vocabulary of the poet Szabedi, and two extensive projects: the editing of a dictionary of Hungarian anthroponomastics in Transylvania (first and second year) and editing of a dictionary of Hungarian regionalisms in Romania.

Some of the students with special aptitude and manifesting a flair for it have for several years been doing interesting practical work in the editorial offices of several Hungarian-language magazines in Cluj and in the Radio-TV Studios of Cluj-Napaco: UTUNK, KORUNK, IGASZAG, and suboffices of ELORE, NAPSZUGAR, and DOLGOZO NO. Many Students who have chosen this kind of experience have become permanent staff members of these magazines and newspapers, thus becoming involved in useful activity.

In a spirit of full understanding and collaboration between Romanian and Hungarian students in the Philology Faculty, interesting events have been organized recently to commemorate various Romanian and Hungarian cultural figures such as Ady Endre, Madach Imre, Eminescu, Sandor Petofi, and others. At such events students of both sections have given interesting presentations and prepared translations--often original ones--of poetry and prose. In the spirit of sincere friendship and collective collaboration, each month the university's journal ECHINOX publishes 6 to 8 pages in Hungarian--literary pieces, essays, criticism, literary history, and so on (an activity in which student Egyed Peter has distinguished himself in recent years), and in the studios of the student radio station, Romanian and Hungarian students work together on Romanian and Hungarian broadcasts for their colleagues; a major contribution is made by the philology students. At present, a Hungarian-language literary club, Visszhang ("Echo"), located in the university center and participated in by many philology students, enjoys great popularity among all the students.

This presentation of the activities of Hungarian students of the Philology Faculty, their concerns and initiatives, would be incomplete without some comment on the rich cultural activities taking place alongside Romanian students as well as in their own Hungarian language groups. I have mentioned various activities organized in the schools and high schools, activities in ECHINOX and the Visszhang literary club. Philology has a tradition of Hungarian-language theater groups (in the latest edition of PRIMAVERA STUDENTESCA the play "Brothers" by Deak Tamds took second place), collages and montages, and so on.

Against this background of long-term collaboration between Romanian and Hungarian students in professional work, scientific research, practical work, and political and cultural endeavors, close ties of friendship and comradeship have been established, ties that are natural among young people of a single fraternal generation, a generation preparing to assume the responsibilities of the future.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SITUATION OF ROMANIAN TRANSYLVANIANS IN 1773 EXAMINED

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian May 78 pp 2-5

/Article by Valeriu Buduru/

/Text/ In the spring of 1773 a brilliant imperial procession was going through the cities and villages of Transylvania. Josef II, German emperor and coregent of the Hapsburg states and son of Francisc II and Maria Theresa, accompanied by high dignitaries of the court, was making his first journey in this Romanian province which at that time was under the rule of the Hapsburg crown. In order to present them with their problems the peasants went out to meet the monarch, peasants oppressed by the heavy yoke of slavery and treated with unusual brutality by their masters, even for those times, workers from the mine works who were exhausted from their labor and brought to beggary by the burden of taxes, mothers, wives and children of those who were hung or crushed by the wheel because they had dared to regain their elementary rights.

Several days before this journey, Empress Maria Theresa, Josef's mother and "coregent," had sent the Transylvanian government, through special courier, the order to be sure that "public roads are cleaned of the corpses of people executed by hanging, by the wheel or at the stake who, according to custom until now, remain exposed along the public roads to the horror and aversion of travelers" before the monarch arrived.

Of the inhabitants of Transylvania, the most oppressed were the Romanians, although, as seen in many documents sent to the imperial court, they were the overwhelming majority of the country's population. For example, the demographic information sent to Vienna in 1772-1773 was particularly conclusive; it was sent by General Preiss, commander of the Imperial Army in Transylvania. In a period when, due to national and social oppression, many

Transylvanian Romanians had crossed the mountains and had settled in the other two Romanian countries, General Preiss recorded that the population of Transylvania (not counting Banat, Crisana and Maramures) was comprised of 63.54 percent Romanians, 24.19 percent Hungarians and Szeklers together with 12.21 percent Saxons. More than 14 years after Josef II's death, the Austrian statistician J.A. Demian, in a work which appeared in Vienna following detailed statistical research made in previous years, emphasized: "With regard to number the Romanians undeniably were in first place among the older nations. Their number can be evaluated as four-sevenths of the entire population. They are spread throughout the country--on one hand, in groups living entirely in the villages or half of their population; on the other hand--surrounding the Hungarian, Szekler and Saxon settlements. After the Romanians with regard to number of population come the Szeklers and then the Saxons, which in 1790 numbered 76,548 families on an area of 130 square miles and, finally, the Hungarians. The others form together merely weak groups of population."

With the Romanians--In Romanian

Josef's journey was long and with frequent stops. In "Horia's Revolution" (Bucharest, 1884) Nicolae Densusianu writes that the emperor visited nearly all the cities in Transylvania--Hateg, Hunedoara, Deva, Orastie, Alba-Iulia--and that he went by horseback in the Abrud Mountains, reviewed the Romanian border guards in Hateg, Hunedoara and Orlat, continued his journey through Sibiu, from where he reached Sighisoara and Medias, visited Fagaras, Brasov, the Szekler regions, and then Bistrita, Rodna, Gherla, Cluj, Turda, Aiud, returned to Sibiu and from there passed Nasaud to Maramures.

There are important details about this first visit of the Hapsburg emperor in Transylvania in the autobiography of Mihail Conrad de Heydendorf, former notary of Medias, who accompanied the monarch on his journeys, serving as his interpreter. Not always, however, since Josef sought to make himself understood to those who had come out to meet him in their language. Thus, several of the details given by Heydendorf in Densusianu's edition: "The emperor stopped at each one, told them to rise--in German to the Saxons and in Romanian to the Romanians--'Rise! Rise!' He took their petitions with his own hands, asked what their complaints were about and, after listening to them, told each one that he would research their complaints--in German to the Saxons and in Romanian to the Romanians--'I will try.'"

In his autobiography the former notary wants to stress, as a completely unusual fact, the use of the Romanian language by the sovereign. For example, the Romanians from the village of Atel "presented to the emperor a petition and at the same time complained to him that they were forced to pay contributions, to

support the country's taxes and those of the district and city, but despite this they do not have ploughland, hayfields or cattle. The emperor then asked them in the Romanian as he knew it whe they were doing feudal service for a land owner." One peasant, Misu Chintu of Brateiu Village, handed the monarch a petition in which he asked that his son who had been forcibly taken into the army be freed. The sovereign asked the peasant, addressing him in Romania about the content of his petition and he repeated his request, with the reason being that he was old and could not work any longer. "What regiment is your son in?" the emperor again asked him in Romania then he gave the old man several ducats and, again in Romanian, told him 'I will try.' At that time the emperor asked Heydendorf if he knew Romanian well. Heydendorf answered that all Saxons around Medias knew this language as well as their own native language "because we have to deal with the Romanians everyday."

The former notary of Medias relates that in the discussion with the emperor he asked him if "a Protestant is being made" out of the Romanians. "I do not know one example, Your Majesty," Heydendorf answered. "They know only their old customs, which they learn at birth, and they do not deviate from them."*

Indelible Memory of Dacia

Adept at enlightened absolutism, Josef II tried to introduce throughout his empire certain measures intended to renew certain outdated structures of the feudal state. The journey in Transylvania offered him the opportunity to also directly become familiar with the state of affairs in this country and, at the same time, to research the sufferings of the working population, particularly of the Romanians, subjected to a double oppression--national and social. During the journey, the emperor was given 19,000 petitions. Josef showed the conclusions of this visit in detailed documents drawn up on the basis of the 19,000 complaints and sent to the Council of State. He wrote : "The country (Transylvania) undoubtedly is attractive and good, only it needs help; palliatives and bungling are not enough anymore, what with the scope of spiritual corruption already. Everywhere mistrust, suspicion, a spirit of intrigue rule; the Hungarian nobility does not care about anything else in this world but the problems of their own incomes and the danger that their privileges again will be diminished. Little do they care about equity or inequity; they go as far with their claims as they can and the oppressed ones, wishing to have them at their disposal whenever they want. The serf is a slave of his master; he has no resource but must serve as he is commanded, more or less, where and how the master wants."

* We also find a version of Josef II's journey in Transylvania, also comprised on the basis of Mihail Conrad de Heydendorf's autobiography, in the work of Teodor V. Pacatian, "Golden Book," Vol 1, 2d edition, Sibiu, 1904.

After stressing that "more than anything else this country needs regulating" of relations between the big landowners and their serfs, Josef wrote: "These poor subjected Romanians, who beyond a doubt are the oldest and most numerous inhabitants of Transylvania, are oppressed, overcome by injustices so that, truly, their fate, if well-researched, appears to be worthy of all compassion and it is surprising so many of these people still live there and that they have not all fled. So I am not surprised when some of their land is worked poorly, since how could it be otherwise when he is not sure of his own wealth from one day to another, one hour to another, and when he risks being forced to work for his master. Under these circumstances, he hurries to do what he can on his land. Otherwise, the nation is wise."¹

Another time, referring this time to the Romanians in Banat, Josef II said: "The Wallachians here are still being treated like slaves; they are not even considered owners of their own lands. It was a big mistake that for other colonists the best cornfields were taken and these were sent to other places, despite the fact that they are the oldest inhabitants of the province."²

Josef II's information about the realities in the Romanian provinces was permanent, not occasional. He made yet another visit to Transylvania in 1783, one and one-half years before the peasants' big uprising in which Hungarian as well as Romanian serfs participated in the zones with mixed population, and he had at his disposal numerous documents with information on the state of affairs in this country furnished by the imperial authorities and representatives of the Romanians, who more than once addressed the Court in Vienna. Horea, leader of the big uprising in 1784, was in Vienna four times in order to present the monarch with the particularly serious situation of the serf peasants.

In honor of the journey made by Josef in 1773 in Transylvania, two medals were struck, with the word "Dacia" appearing in the inscription of one of them, by which the imperial court recognized an ancient and forever living reality from the history of the Romanians.

The Horrible and Absurd Way the Nobility Got Even

In Transylvania the implementation of the measures taken at the court in Vienna in order to bring certain improvements in the

1. See the German text in "Emperor Josef II and the Peasant Uprising in Transylvania" by I. Lupas, Bucharest, 1935. The explanatory words introduced by us and excerpts are marked with brackets.

2. Quoted according to C. Diaconovici in "Romanian Encyclopedia, Vol 1.

status of the working population encountered bitter opposition from the counts who, by bypassing the imperial orders, intensified the exploitation and oppression of the peasant masses.

Josef II did not ignore this stubborn opposition from the nobility. On 31 October 1784, in a letter sent to his brother and successor to the throne, Archduke Leopold, who was then living in Florence as a grand duke of Tuscany, the emperor stressed: "I am having a lot of trouble with their Hungarian masters (contre messieurs les Hongrois), they are rising up against enlisting (Romanians in the border guard regiments) with rashness and impertinence. I might have to be forced to apply exemplary punishment which would end their arrogance."¹

The monarch was referring to the feudal lords' opposition to incorporating the Romanian peasants in the border guard regiments which had been established in Maria Theresa's time and which Josef wished to strengthen. Hoping that they would escape from serfdom in this way, the peasants crowded the recruitment centers, abandoning the counts' lands. The measures taken by the authorities, at the nobility's request, speeded up the start of the peasants' big rise to struggle under the leadership of Horea, Closca and Crisan, "the biggest and most terrible" uprising to shake the Hapsburg Empire, as stressed by American historian Paul A. Shapiro.² Shoulder to shoulder, the Romanian and Hungarian serfs rose up "against feudalism in general," which at that time, as stressed by Hungarian historian Zoltan I. Toth, in Transylvania "was embodied in the class of the Hungarian landowners."

A lively correspondence was carried on between Vienna and Florence during and about the uprising of Horea, Closca and Crisan. Josef II sent his brother Leopold ten letters and received four from him. Added to them, as Octavian Beu notes, were another 86 official letters sent by the emperor to various civilian and military dignitaries of the empire. The archduke appeared very concerned with the uprising of Horea, Closca and Crisan and insistently requested as many details as possible about how the events were unfolding. "The Romanians' problem is very annoying," he wrote to his brother on 26 November 1784. "With the event being so unusual, I would dare to ask you to please let me know the final result when it occurs and give me details about the start of these events. Please do not attribute these questions to indiscretion on my part but rather to the wish to be informed of a matter which is so unusual and important due to its consequences."

1. The translation of excerpts from Josef's correspondence with Leopold is made according to French texts published by Octavian Beu in "L'Empereur Joseph II et la Revolte de Horea," Sibiu, 1944.

2. MAGAZIN ISTORIC No 4, 1976. In connection with the uprising of Horea, Closca and Crisan, also see MAGAZIN ISTORIC No 7-8, 1968, 11, 1970 and 5, 1974.

Josef satisfied Leopold's wish. In opposition to the information intended for publicity, by which the imperial circles sought to minimize the uprising, Josef's letters as well as those of his brother reveal the profound anxiety with which the high authorities were following the events in Transylvania. As was expected, the uprising could arouse only unrest and fear in the cabinets of the imperial palace and, as is known, the monarch ordered brutal repression of the uprising and wild execution of its leaders.

Yet it is interesting to point out that in the letters sent to Leopold Josef did not overlook the deep and long-lasting causes of the uprising: Branding the abuses and oppression of the feudal lords, he did not omit the sins of the functionaries who were administering the properties of the crown in Transylvania. At the same time we see from Josef's correspondence with Leopold another aspect worthy of note. In 1437, during the uprising in Bobilna, the Hungarian nobles together with the Saxon and Szekler leadership strata concluded an understanding known by the name of "Unio Trium Nationum." Although they comprised the great majority of the population, the Romanians were treated as a "contributing lower order," merely tolerated until 1848. It is all the more significant that in 1784 Josef II was writing in his letters about the Romanian nation, thus bringing out an incontestable historical reality.

Here, for example, is what the emperor wrote in answer to Leopold's request:¹

"Vienna, 3 December 1784

My dear brother,

With regard to what has occurred in Transylvania and about which I have written you merely in passing in my letters, here are the two main reports of the general headquarters, from which you can judge how it was. The oppressions of all kinds committed by the masters of lands for a good period of time have served as the basis for a general complaint of the entire nation (in the sense of the Transylvanian population) and particularly the Romanians. There never was any way for an improvement to be² made, not even for an urban regulation to be established.

1. In the Romanian version of Josef II's texts, in order to state and stress the monarch's viewpoint, I have respected his formulations as faithfully as possible, including those suffering from some awkwardness.

2. Urbariu: In Transylvania during the Middle Ages, the official register in which landed properties were entered.

Her deceased Majesty Maria Theresa did everything in her power, but in vain. In the latter I succeeded in having the government and chancellor's office draw up an outline, but nothing has been sent yet (in Transylvania). Civil servants from the area of Zlatna, under the protection of the Department of Mines, have been guilty of all kinds of fraud. Despite the continually repeated complaints of the research commissions sent there, a stop could not be put to this. In the end, I myself having been in those places last year, I struggled so that a new commission was sent there which had to send its reports directly to Vienna. One was even received in March; but the Department of Mines let it lie until November. The oppressed (the Romanian serfs), sending over their representatives, received written assurance from the chancellor's office of Hungary that they could return home and quietly await the decision which would be made, without having to fear anything; but hardly having arrived in Zlatna, those representatives immediately were jailed and tortured. Then, one of them named Horea escaped and he gathered the peasants and set them against the masters and civil servants, saying that they had behaved like that with them (the Romanians) and did not consider the emperor's orders."

Continuing, Josef II's attitude was one which condemned the way the counts organized the repression: "Among other things, the government (of Transylvania) had the unhappy thought that the nobility, together with its Hungarian servants, should gather in an uprising against their Romanian subjects. You can easily imagine what crimes were committed. Thus, one day they caught 31 peasants whom the counts ordered to have beheaded without any kind of trial."

In turn the archduke wrote about these crimes to the monarch in a letter written 10 December: "I confess that I am scandalized by the inconceivable and unforgivable behavior of the government and army in a matter of such importance, which should be quieted right now, resolving the complaints of these people and letting those which deviated from order reenter into order; in particular the idea of the nobles' organizing an insurrection against the peasants is horrible and absurd, given the fact that not only does it not remedy the inconveniences but rather gives rise to more of them and in addition incites hatred and quarreling between masters and subjects."

Coming from the highest imperial authorities, the reports of Josef II as well as the correspondence between the sovereign and his successor to the throne by their volume but in particular by their content are sources of historical documentation of great interest, with much significance for understanding the struggle of the Romanian Transylvanians to defend their rights. Coming into contact with a number of realities of the Transylvania of that time and of the history of the Romanians, Josef and Leopold could not help but note them, thus leaving testimony of special value.

HUNGARIAN WORK ON DACIANS EXCERPTED BY ROMANIANS

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian May 78 pp 30-32

/Article by Dr Augustin Deac/

/Text/ Dacia and its ancient inhabitants, the Geto-Dacians, were among the most illustrious states and peoples of antiquity. The bravery with which our ancestors defended their independence and the level of development reached by the Dacian state have resulted in their history being reflected broadly in the works of many authors, starting with the father of history, Herodotus, and continuing throughout the centuries with the most important historians.

Especially reflected were the periods of the maximum flourishing of Geto-Dacian history, represented by the centralized and independent Dacian state led by Burebista, which had its axis on the Danube and Carpathians and stretched over a vast territory from Bohemia and the Austrian Alps up to the Bug and Black Sea, from the northern Carpathians to the Balkans and toward the Adriatic Sea and Decebal's state. The epoch-making resistance of Decebal's state opposed to the Romans made the Dacians and Dacia broadly known not only to their contemporaries but also to following generations, with the memory of their struggles being imprinted in the people's conscience.

Throughout time, other scholars from many countries in their works made laudatory evaluations of our native ancestors, the Dacians, of the country they inhabited as well as of the continuity of the Romanian people on this hearth.

Among them is also the Hungarian scholar Istvan Losontzy, the author of a school manual entitled "Harmas Kis Tukor" (Small Triple Mirror) edited for the first time in 1771 in Pozsony (today, Bratislava). The work, "a summary of the writings of competent scholars," as the author attests, was conceived in the form of questions and answers in order to make the problems

presented more easy to remember. Written from the positions of an ardent Hungarian patriot and defender of the interests of the Hungarian ruling classes, the work was prohibited by the authorities in Vienna in the years immediately following the defeat of the revolution of 1848-1849. The esteem which the author enjoys in Hungary today is seen in "Magyar Eletrajzi Lexikon," Volume II, which appeared in Budapest in 1969 (p 89): "Istvan Losontzy (1709-1780), a teacher and reformed preacher. He studied in Debreczin and Utrecht. Was professor and director of the gymnasium in Nagykeres starting in 1741. He militated so that writing, reading, arithmetic and history also be taught in elementary school, along with religion. In the work "Harmas Kis Tukor (Pozsony, 1771), he popularized the history and geography of Hungary in the Hungarian language. Due to its patriotic content, the manual, after it had had 50 editions, was prohibited (by the Hapsburg authorities--Augustin Deac) in 1854 under Bach's government."

All the more conclusive and revealing are the many references to Dacia from the time of our Geto-Dacian ancestors and to Dacia during the time of the peoples' migration.

Just how deeply imprinted in the consciousness of centuries the Dacians and Dacia were also clearly results from the way in which the work cited shows the extent of their state as well as the fact that when the history of the travels of the migrating peoples was described, Dacia becomes a reference point, thus being a lasting compass, a stable guideline in bringing these peoples closer to it or farther away from it.

Of course, being a manual for school children, there is less interest in the new things it brings out. It is significant that for eight decades "Small Triple Mirror" has been the book according to which generations and generations of pupils have been taught.

The manual also makes reference to the Romanian people, whom the author recognizes as the direct continuer of the Dacians.

The excerpts given below are according to the 1781 edition:

(Translation from Hungarian into Romanian by Edith Oprea)

Small Mirror of the Hungarian Country--On the Land of the Hungarian Country

Question: With which countries does the Hungarian Country have a border?

Answer: To the north--Poland and Silesia; to the east--Moldavia,

Ardeal and the Romanian Country, to the south--Serbia and Slovenia or the country of the Slovenians, to the west--Moravia and Austria.

On the Huns

Question: Who invaded the Hungarian Country the first time?

Answer: The Huns, around the year 374.

Question: Before 374 what was the Hungarian Country called?

Answer: The portion beyond the Danube was called Pannonia, the portion between the Danube and the Tisa--Iasigia and the part on the other side of the Tisa--Dacia.

Question: What did the Huns do first?

Answer: Crossing the Don, they conquered the Alans and neighboring peoples and took them into their society.

Question: Where did they go from here?

Answer: Into Dacia and they settled on that good land in 376.

Question: Were they really satisfied with Dacia?

Answer: No, because the Goths who were living beyond the Danube, attacking Emperor Valens, called on the Huns for aid and together they defeated Valens' army and thus they occupied a large portion of Pannonia in 378.

Question: After Balamber or Balamir, who were the chieftains of the Huns?

Answer: The ancient writers recall six. (Among them were) Mundzukus, whom the Hungarians call Bendegus, Atilla's father, in 411; he sent Lieutenant Rugila to Constantinople, unsuccessfully, since Rugila was hit by lightning there and his army also perished in large part; for that reason it was possible for the Romans to again occupy Pannonia and repel the Huns in Dacia; and Atilla, in 434, the renowned king of the Huns who, with his brother Bleda beside him, accomplished great acts both in the Eastern Empire as well as Western Empire.

Question: Who first rose against them?

Answer: Ardaricus, king of the Geps who, clashing with the sons of Atilla, beat the Huns and killed 30,000 of their men. Ellak, Atilla's oldest son also died in this battle; his two

sons were then pushed to the Pontul Euxin.

Question: What were the fruits of victory?

Answer: All Dacia and Iasigia were occupied by the Geps, Pannonia, by the Goths and other holdings were occupied by the other nations.

On the Avars

Question: Who was second to invade Dacia?

Answer: The Avars, who lived across the Volga and, followed by the neighboring Turks, moved toward Europe, toward the west, under the leadership of their commander Khaganus, around the year 550.

Question: With what occasion did they come into Dacia?

Answer: Albonis, king of the Longobarz, who then was living in Pannonia, struggling with Kunimundus, king of the Geps, called on the Avars for aid.

Question: What happened after this understanding?

Answer: The decline of the Geps, because their allies beat them very badly. In this way the Avars occupied Dacia and they transformed the Geps into their serfs in 553.

On the Hungarians

Question: Who was third to arrive in the Hungarian Land?

Answer: The Hungarians or Magyars.

Question: What drove them to abandon their native lands?

Answer: Prince Apokanus, breaking loose from the Huns in the east, occupied the land settled between the Don and the Volga and settled there with all his people in the year 585. And here this nation lived for a long time.

Question: But why did they near Dacia from there?

Answer: Totally disagreeing with the Pecenegs who were neighbors and closely followed by them, they split in two: one part went toward the east and the other--toward the west.

Question: Where did the ones who headed for the west settle?

Answer: On this side of the Dnepr.

Question: Having arrived here, what did they do?

Answer: They elected Arpad, Almos' son, to be their supreme leader.

Question: Did they live in peace in Dacia?

Answer: Even there they began to be harassed by the Pecenegs and for that reason moved closer toward the Istru and Tisa around the year 889.

Small Mirror of the Country of Ardeal--On the Land of the Country of Ardeal

Its names

Long ago the Country of Ardeal was called Middle Dacia when it was ruled by the Dacians, Gets and Goths. Now its names are Ardeal--because it is surrounded by wooded mountains; Transylvania--because it is located beyond Silvania on the other side of Salaj; Siebenburgen--after the seven Saxon towns.

Borders

As borders Ardeal has Moldavia(Maramures) to the north, Moldavia to the east, Wallachia to the south, the country of the Wallachians and the Hungarian Country to the west.

Inhabitants

Olahs, Wallachians, the Italian people, remains of the old Romans, the reason for which even today they are called Rumuny, that is, Romans.

Short History of the Country of Ardeal:

1. Previously Ardeal was ruled by Dacians and Gets, a very warlike and hot-blooded people. As Ovid points out, "Nulla Getis toto gens est truculentior orbe" (There is no people in the whole world more harsh than the Gets).

2. Previously they had fallen under the power of the Romans. But they often harassed them since when the Danube froze over, they crossed it with large armies and ravaged Moesia and the land of Pannonia terribly. More importantly the chief called Cotyso put such a fear in the Romans that Horatius, who was living then, complained sorrowfully: "Poene occupatam feditionibus delevit Urbem Dacus" (The Dacian almost destroyed Rome through harassment).

3. Domitian, the Roman emperor, rose against them and intended to stop them, but, with his entire army beaten by the Dacians, he was forced to seek peace in the year 88, promising them payment of an annual tribute.

4. Later, Emperor Trajan in the year 102 (actually the year 106), proceeding against the Dacians after intense preparations, strongly humbled them, because he defeated their king, named Decebal, with his entire army, occupied their capital, Sarmizegetusa together with the country and, sending inhabitants there from Rome, gave the royal city the name of Ulpia Traiana.

5. After much time, during the rule of the Roman emperor Gallienus, the Goths and Sarmats, leaving the northern holdings, banded together with the Dacians and Gots and upset the Romans in Dacia so much that they could not live there in peace. Because of this, Emperor Aurelian in the year 274 moved the Roman heroes from there to Moesia. The ones who remained there longer with time became Wallachians, which even today the Romans are called.

6. The Goths, Geps, and other peoples ruled beautiful Dacia in peace until the Huns, leaving Scythia around the year 376, drove them away partly on the other side of the Danube and partly subjected them and occupied Dacia together with the neighboring holdings.

7. In the "Small Mirror of the Hungarian Country" one can see what they did under the rule of Atilla, how in time the Avars came in their place and after them the Hungarians and how they occupied and divided Dacia and Hungary.

8. King Stefan I the Holy, defeating Gelu, prince of Ardeal, annexed Ardeal to the Hungarian crown in the year 1002 and, starting then, it was ruled by Hungarian kings through high functionaries or princes of Ardeal up to the death of Ioan Zapolya, king of Hungary, which took place in 1540 (when Hungary was transformed into a pashalic and Ardeal became an autonomous principality--Augustin Deac).

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ROMANIANS RECALL HORRORS OF HORTHYIST HUNGARY

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 19 May 78 p 6

/Article by A. Simion/

/Text/ On the evening of 27 August 1940, the counsel of the German Legation in Bucharest, Gerhardt Steltzer, went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania to present a note by which the Romanian foreign minister was "invited" to Vienna for 29 August in the name of the government of the Reich, with "full powers for negotiations on Hungarian-Romanian relations."

The procedure used by representatives of the Reich, unusual in normal diplomatic relations between sovereign states, was rather frequent during those troubled times, when the force of right had ceased governing international life and was replaced by the right of force. And those with the force at their disposal who were arbitrarily deciding the fates of peoples were the big fascist powers--Germany and Italy--as well as their revisionist allies.

Profiting from the lack of decisiveness shown by England and France, the fascist states in a relatively short time succeeded in preparing for war, then placing world peace and security and the people's independence and sovereignty in danger. One by one Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg fell victim to the policy of force and dictate promoted by the fascist powers. In June 1940 France itself, half occupied by German divisions, had been forced to recognize its defeat.

Once the victorious campaign had been closed in western and north-western Europe, the Hitlerist Reich moved to implement the traditional policy of expansion of German imperialism toward the east and southeast known in history as "Drang nach Osten." In the overall methods used by the Nazis to break the resistance of the peoples in this part of Europe, an important place was held by

artificially stimulating misunderstandings and poisoning relations between states and downright blackmail in matters of vital importance which aimed at the very national independence and territorial integrity.

The main thing aiding the Hitlerist Reich's aggressive policy of expansion toward the east and southeast was Horthyist Hungary, the first fascist state in Europe. The Hungarian exploiter classes had not for one moment reconciled themselves to the losses suffered by the breakup of the two-headed Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 and were making desperate efforts to return to the situation prior to World War I. They organized one of the broadest revisionist campaigns known in history, becoming a factor which disturbed good-neighbor relations. The Hungarian revisionists directly linked their hopes with the big fascist powers, intensifying their activity depending on the latter's contribution. A "friendship pact" was signed on 5 April 1947 between Horthyist Hungary and fascist Italy. In September 1935, during a visit made to the capital of the Third Reich by Gombos Gyula, president of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, an understanding was reached between the Hitlerists and the Horthyists according to which Hungary's revisionist plans for Czechoslovakia and Romania were to be achieved in conformity with the expansion program of German imperialism. Taking action in accordance with the understanding mentioned, the Budapest government represented one of the main pawns maneuvered by Hitler in the concerted offensive which aimed at eliminating Czechoslovakia as a state. As payment for the role played in the particular events, on 2 November 1938 Horthyists received extended territories of Czechoslovakia from the Nazis and in March 1939 they were permitted to occupy a territory of Subcarpathian Ukraine.

In the summer of 1940 it was Romania's turn to "pay" for its policy of peace and collective security and of defending the territorial status quo promoted consistently during the interwar period. In a letter addressed to Carol II on 15 July 1940, Adolf Hitler emphasized in a tone of ultimatum: "A revision has become inevitable. Any attempt to avoid the dangers threatening your country through any kind of maneuver must be and will be destined to failure. Sooner or later, and probably within a very short time, the result could be even the destruction of Romania."

The pressures exerted by the Nazis and Italian fascists to force the Romanian Government to satisfy the revisionist claims of their Horthyist allies were demonstrated with particular brutality during the visit which Ion Gigurtu, Romanian premier, and Mihail Manoilescu, foreign minister, made in Germany and Italy during the last 10 days of June 1940. Thus, during the talks which the two Romanian representatives had with the foreign minister of the Reich on 26 July 1940, he stated that "Germany approves Hungary's requests for revision" and insisted that the Romanian Government start treaties with the Horthyist government "as fast

as possible" to resolve them. In turn, Adolf Hitler specified that the Romanian Government's refusal to satisfy Horthyist Hungary's claims would be interpreted in Berlin as endangering the Reich's interests and Romania would have to bear all consequences. During those same days, in a discussion with Mihai Antonescu, Gerhardt Steltzer, about whom we spoke at the beginning, warned that in case Romania refused to proceed with Berlin's "recommendations," then Germany "would send motorized troops into Romania and bombers to land in Bucharest, thus bringing a real protectorate situation and perhaps, if the situation became more serious, it would do this with the help of our neighbors." Specifying that "the German motorized troops already are at Germany's border with Hungary," Steltzer insisted that the Romanian Government "decide because otherwise the state of occupation or of protectorate and partition in particular will become inevitable."

As a result of the Nazi blackmail and threats, the Gigurtu government was forced to begin talks with the Horthyist government. The discussions took place in Turnu Severin. Without having a single right, without a legal basis and not taking into consideration the will of the great majority of residents of Transylvania, the Horthyist delegates demanded the surrender of a Romanian territory of about 69,000 square meters with a population of 3.9 million.

The Romanian delegation rejected the demands formulated by the Horthyist delegation, stating that they could not be "an acceptable basis for discussion." The head of the Romanian delegation insisted that the treaties should proceed from ethnic realities. With the brutality characteristic of the fascist governors, the Horthyist government refused the Romanian proposals and even negotiations, thereby demonstrating that its actions were dictated not by "concern for the fate of the Hungarian population," as its foreign propaganda asserted, but rather by the wish to seize the vastest Romanian territory possible.

Following interruption of the Turnu Severin negotiations, Hungary intensified its military preparations to attack Romania. At the same time the Horthyists provoked many incidents at the Romanian-Hungarian border.

The chief of the General Staff of the Hungarian Army, Gen Henrik Werth, informed Germany's military attache in Budapest, Futerer, that Hungary wanted the arbitration of Germany and Italy. The fascist governments in Berlin and Rome directly took over the settlement of the Horthyists' territorial claims. A particularly graphic fact: Hitler personally knew the groundlessness of the Hungarian government's demands. In an interview held on 28 August 1940 with Italy's foreign minister Count Ciano, he stated: "Solution of the problem is particularly complicated due to the

fact that an ethnographic (editor: Romanian) claim is opposed to a territorial claim (editor: Hungarian) with indisputable certainty. The structure of the population in the territory in litigation, considering Hungary's position as favorably as possible, is as follows: There are 3 million Romanians for 1.5 million Hungarians and 600,000-700,000 Germans. The numerical ratio is 1/3 Hungarians and 2/3 Romanians." Despite this, again and again demonstrating his fundamental shamelessness, the Nazi dictator came out in favor of Hungary. Thus, once again Hitler repaid Horthyist Hungary for the loyalty shown to the Reich and to Italy and punished Romania for its policy of peace and collective security.

Under the conditions of Romania's complete isolation internationally and certain "generalized threats," the Romanian government was forced to proceed with the "invitation" received from Berlin. As a result, on 28 August Foreign Minister Mihail Manoilescu, accompanied by Valer Pop and experts armed with maps, documents and statistics, headed for Vienna to try and demonstrate the correctness of the Romanian cause. Receiving the Romanian delegation, the foreign ministers of Germany and Italy refused to listen to their arguments and in a tone of ultimatum demanded that Romania be subject to "arbitration" of the axis powers. As Von Ribbentrop stated, "Romania has the power to choose between the prospect of its destruction as a state and nation on one hand and maintaining the state, reduced territorially, and the ethnic existence of the Romanian people on the other hand. The generalized threats are a fact and remain standing with all their consequences. Pointing out these prospects is not a bluff, just as it was not in the case of Poland, Norway, France and so forth and anybody who deludes or fools himself will have to bear incalculable consequences."

Under these conditions of pressure and blackmail--during which the threat with "destruction of Romania," with "abolishing it as a state," with "dividing the Romanian territory and wiping Romania as a state off the map of Europe" was frequently used by the representatives of the fascist states--the Council of the Crown which met in Bucharest during the night of 29-30 August 1940 accepted that Romania be subject to the "arbitration."

Once having received the Romanian government's agreement, Von Ribbentrop and Ciano did not carry out even a semblance of arbitration. They continued to refuse to listen to the Romanian delegations, lacking any possibility to keep Romania's rights. In the meeting which took place on 30 August in the "golden salon" of the Belvedere Palace in Vienna, a place with sad memories for the Romanian people, Von Ribbentrop and Ciano limited themselves merely to informing the two delegations of the territories which Romania had to give up to Hungary and the outline of the new border line which had been established by Hitler and the Wehrmacht Headquarters on 27 August.

The sentence imposed by Von Ribbentrop and Ciano was not a decision of arbitration but rather a dictate pronounced by the big fascist powers to the detriment of Romania and in the favor of Horthyist Hungary allied with Hitlerist Germany and fascist Italy. This dictate stole a territory of 42,243 square kilometers with a population of 2.6 million residents from Romania, among which the majority were Romanians.

Although the hopes of the reactionary circles in Budapest were only partially satisfied, the occupation of the northeastern portion of Transylvania was an important victory for the Hungarian revisionists. However, it was a victory dearly paid for not only by Romania but even by Horthyist Hungary, which had to make new concessions to Berlin in order to continue enjoying the Hitlerists' aid, both in view of ruling the territories occupied but also the planned occupation of all of Transylvania. As historian Juhasz Gyula of the People's Republic of Hungary feels, following the Vienna Dictate of 30 August 1940, Hungary "openly and contractually attached itself to the axis powers, becoming more and more the tool of fascist Germany to achieve its war goals." On 20 November 1940, Hungary joined the Tripartite Pact. In the spring of 1941, the Hungarian Army participated in the aggression against Yugoslavia. In turn the pro-German political circles in Romania which had reached the helm of the state with Berlin's aid made important concessions to the Reich. On 23 November 1940 the Antonescu Iron Guard government also joined the Tripartite Pact.

History shows that the Horthyist revisionism aided by Hitlerist Germany and fascist Italy was a factor disturbing peace and international order and one of the main means utilized by Hitler to defeat the resistance of the peoples in this part of Europe. At the same time, history warns that the big powers, feuding with the small countries, have sought nothing more than satisfying their own interests of domination, while the small states, despite some momentary gains, have had only to suffer. Offering foreign territories, the imperialists, using a classic expression, are offering poisoned candy.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIAN WRITER ASSERTS FRIENDSHIP WITH MINORITIES

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 19 May 78 p 6

/Article by Romulus Guga/

/Text/ It is in our tradition to appropriately honor the values of our past, together with that of other nationalities. By nature we are an open, honest, kindhearted people who believe in the words which a person addresses to us and which we address to a person, we are receptive. We seek to understand and interpret objectively the words of our time, naturally in the spirit of our dignity and pure thought belonging to the Romanian consciousness. Thus, you could say that we also are lovers of tradition and open to the new things making their place in the world, wanting to contribute through our own effort to building a world where peace, well-being and brotherhood, equality and respect for human rights, which we have fulfilled now, characterize our world. No matter how many times I spent a day at Sapinta with the famous mottos for our soul, I always feel that I am living in my natural space, that I am participating in my tradition and that of the ones living with me, things which my heart handed back to me and around the old ceramics of the Szekler masters from Corund, or the famous pots from Marginea or Horezu. In each case it was a question of my inheritance, of a Romanian writer who through his work not only is but also feels that this land inhabited for centuries by Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities, founded by my ancestors as a good and healthy hearth, hospitable and giving of freedoms for everyone, brotherhood and understanding, bearer of the traditions and specific features of each one, is a characteristic by which we know that we are here in everything we do and think.

Whereas on one hand tradition is characteristic of us, conservatism is repugnant to us. Because, no matter how many times it was necessary both in our house as well as in the people's lives, the Romanian word was promptly heard with the most noble message

possible. Thus, that is how the combining of tradition and receptivity to what is new ideally corresponds to our space. From olden times, even in conditions which many times were miserable for us and others, we kept our name, language, specific nature and unity with difficulty, with sacrifices and martyrs. If I was to paraphrase Socrates from one of the Plato Dialogs, I would have to say that for us the name has been and remains an emanation of the nature of things. For that reason, at Sapinta I live and am reborn with each fabric. That is why in Putna, Curtea de Arges, Tirgu Jiu, Cimpeni or Islaz hundreds and hundreds of years prove what we mean by independence, sovereignty and infinite aspiration.

For that reason perhaps I am surprised when I encounter phenomena foreign to our domestic and foreign harmony. And, perhaps, the most shocking of them seemed to be on a day spent in Cluj-Napoca, a name which someone gave to the splendid construction on the citadel of Cluj, the hotel which paradoxically is called Belvedere. Isn't such a building in the Austrian capital enough? Was the spirit of inventiveness of the hotel's "godparents" really lacking? When Belvedere according to what I know means "beautiful view," and the one involved was trying to make a metaphor from his expression, wouldn't he have known that in our soul of today there are happier metaphors.

An old resident of Cluj asked me surprised why there is no memorial plaque on Lucian Blaga's house. Wasn't there time for that? Or did the municipal administration forget that he lived in Cluj? Or why is there no bust of Vasile Parvan, the author of "Dacia"?

Thoughts during a day in Cluj-Napoca, in the heart of Transylvania.

8071
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ALBANIA

PARTY JOURNAL ON EUROCOMMUNISM, 'THREE WORLDS' THEORY

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 4, Apr 78 pp 54-67 AU

[Article by Hajro Zeneli: "Eurocommunism, an Open Anticommunist Trend of Current Revisionism"]

[Excerpts] As an instrument of anticommunism at the service of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and reaction, the current revisionism appears in various forms and variants and it is "enriched" with antiscientific trends and pseudotheories which are used to counterbalance Marxism-Leninism and which are, in essence, variants of the Khrushchevite revisionism. Yet the appearance of new revisionist trends and variants actually shows that the entire revisionist camp is disintegrating and that the various sections of modern revisionism have been split into rival hostile groups each of which tries to defend and propagate "its specific road to socialism," its "specific," "socialist" "theories." The division of the revisionist camp into some opportunistic trends, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "...on the one hand, reflects the degree of the degeneration of revisionism, its total disintegration, and, mirrors the efforts of revisionism to serve better the bourgeoisie and to become even shrewder in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and revolution, on the other. (Enver Hoxha, report at the Seventh AWP Congress, page 261)

Such "a new" revisionist trend that has emerged, that has assumed a determined political and ideological feature and that has been spread and propagated by the revisionist parties of Western Europe, especially by the French, Italian and Spanish revisionist parties, is also the so-called Eurocommunism. This new trend of revisionists, who have totally degenerated to the positions of the reactionary social democracy, preaches socialism and communism and describes it as a "communism" of a particular brand different from the scientific Marxist-Leninist communism, as a brand of Western "communism" suitable only for the developed capitalist countries. It is a fact that Marchais, Carrillo and Berlinguer, as well as other ideologists of the current reactionary monopolistic bourgeoisie, have also spoken about a pseudocommunism of this brand. There is nothing surprising in this. Eurocommunism, as revisionism which sheds all masks, is an amalgamation of theories starting from Bernstein, Trotsky, Khrushchev, Tito, Brezhnev and the present reactionary bourgeois and imperialist sociology.

The intention of the "theories" of Eurocommunists is to revise Marxism in its entirety. They try to replace the revolutionary dialectical development with the simple "evolution," preach idealism and religion, try to reject the Marxist-Leninist theory on the inevitable overthrow and failure of capitalism and stand against Marxism, against the Marxist-Leninist theory on the class struggle, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. These have been and remain the main goals of the revisionists and opportunists in the past and at present.

The appearance of this "new" variant of revisionists is requested and needed by the monopolistic bourgeoisie and all the world reaction, led by American imperialism, which have been gripped in the vise of a deep political-social and economic-financial crisis. The vise of this crisis has gripped the developed capitalist countries, which the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda has presented as models of the "consumer society," of "peace" and of "class harmony" but, in fact, they are characterized by exacerbation of class contradictions. Under these critical conditions for the capitalist order, the Eurocommunists are providing their assistance to the imperialist bourgeoisie and all the international reaction, rendering to them great service. They have also taken upon themselves the mission of breaking up the formal ties with Marxism, describing it as "outdated" and "unsuitable" for historical conditions, especially for the developed Western capitalist countries. They defend the capitalist order by presenting and dressing it up as the most "democratic" and "progressive" order which prepares the necessary conditions and premises for the peaceful parliamentary transition to socialism, thus avoiding the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Italian revisionist party, which raised the ragged banner of the "historic compromise," of this reactionary strategy, is, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, jerking in the reformist theories and begs charities from the social democracy, from the bourgeoisie, which throws a bone to it. By denying the class contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the class nature of the present bourgeois state, the Italian revisionist party emerged with the thesis that under "the new conditions" a majority in the parliament is not sufficient for the communists in their march to socialism. First, it is necessary to have an alliance and comprehensive cooperation with the bourgeois parties. To secure this cooperation, the communists enter into compromises with the bourgeoisie and openly give up the revolution through violence, give up socialism. The Italian revisionists state: "We are not talking at all about socialism but about turning Italy into a real, modern country to live in." Thus, apparently, they tell the Italian proletariat that it should not ask for more than what it merely needs to live and it should not carry out the revolution nor establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence, it should accept perpetuation of the capitalist order.

The party boasts that it has become a "large reformist party," an "open" party in which people of all classes and various ideological beliefs participate. In fact, it is a reformist, amorphous party which concentrates all

its activity on the ballot box, parliamentary elections and the state armchairs of the bourgeoisie.

The French revisionist party also stands on the same ideological and political positions. By extensively attacking the most fundamental issues of Marxism, it has worked out a common program with the socialist and the radical parties and it deceives the masses with preachings that French "socialism" will be achieved through development of democracy and bourgeois freedoms, without expropriating the bourgeoisie, within the limit of the bourgeois society.

Ibarruri's party in Spain has also undergone a reactionary transformation and has been changed completely into a servant of the bourgeoisie, betraying the interests of the Spanish proletariat and people. Carrillo has openly stated: "We do not stand for a revolution through violence (as preached by Marx and Lenin). We are called Eurocommunists and wish to progress toward socialism in pluralism, jointly with all other parties." Moreover, at its ninth congress, which took place recently, this revisionist party also changed its name, terming itself a "Marxist-Democratic and Revolutionary Party," having dropped the term "Leninist," by which the Spanish Eurocommunists have in mind the revolution through violence.

It is clear that Eurocommunism comes out openly particularly against the fundamental theses of scientific socialism and that it denies and rejects the general laws of the revolution and of the construction of socialism which are indispensable to all countries. As such it is nothing but a variant of Khrushchevite revisionism and stands on the same anticommunist and counterrevolutionary positions as the latter. The unmasking of Eurocommunist "theories" is, therefore, also an unmasking of the other currents of modern revisionism which, for demagogical purposes, formally adhere to certain Marxist-Leninist theses and formulations but are in fact opposing them in their practical counterrevolutionary activity.

The Eurocommunists are overt opponents and enemies of the socialist revolution. They are trying to identify the struggle for socialism with the struggle for democracy and to replace the revolution through violence with the struggle to effect certain bourgeois-democratic transformations which affect hardly at all the essence of the oppressive and exploitative capitalist socioeconomic system.

The absolutization of democracy and of the parliamentary road and their use, as well as that of reforms, as a way of making the transition to socialism have nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist theory on the socialist revolution. Marxism-Leninism and historical experience teach us that the struggle for democracy serves the cause of the proletariat only when it is linked with the preparation of the socialist revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, when it is used to raise the political consciousness of the working class and of the working masses,

to strengthen their organization and to launch the masses into a revolutionary struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whereas the struggle for "democracy" and the reformistic theories loudly propagated by the Eurocommunists does not and cannot affect the essence of the capitalist system.

Such pseudotheories convince no one and are destined to fail. The development of current events in the world, the anti-imperialist and liberation wars waged by the oppressed peoples and the rebellions of the workers and of the working masses in the developed capitalist countries themselves are a testimony of the fact that the revisionist reformistic alternative does not correspond with reality and with the aspirations of the masses. The idea that revolution through violence is the only way of changing the world and the only way of escaping the national and social yoke has captured the minds of millions of people throughout the world. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, "the world is at a stage when the issue of the revolution and of the national liberation of the peoples is not merely an aspiration and prospect but also a problem raised for solution." (Enver Hoxha, report to the Seventh AWP Congress, p 186)

Under these conditions, to overtly declare that the Marxist-Lenist theory of the revolution has become outdated and replace it with the "democratic" and "peaceful" road means, in fact, helping and serving the bourgeoisie. It means preserving the capitalist system unchanged with all its evils. It means disarming and lulling into sleep the working class and the oppressed peoples. It means diverting them from the path of the revolution and of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To achieve their aims the Eurocommunists have undertaken a broad attack against the Marxist-Leninist doctrine in order to denigrate the sole revolutionary theory of the proletariat. Their intention is to subvert and divest the working class of revolutionary ideology, the irreplaceable theoretical weapon for the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist society into a socialist society.

They have moved into concrete actions in this direction. The Italian revisionists have erased all references to Marxism-Leninism in their party documents, with regard to its ideology as well as to its political foundation. The French revisionists have long since declared that "Leninist principles have 'befuddled' us for three-quarters of a century," and have, therefore, rejected them. While at their ninth congress, the Spanish revisionists came out with the banner of the first "Communist" party which has rejected Leninism even formally, declaring that "it is inadmissible to accept Leninism as current Marxism." They, therefore, eliminated the term "Leninist" from their party's definition, by which they mean the revolution through violence. They called it as a "Marxist-Democratic and Revolutionary Party." This shows once again that Eurocommunism has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, the leading ideology of the proletariat, and that the Eurocommunism parties are merely bourgeois-type parties which,

in cooperation with other parties of the bourgeoisie, have placed themselves against the proletariat and the proletarian revolution.

It is not surprising that U.S. imperialism and all international reaction have welcomed Eurocommunism as a variant of modern revisionism that has moreover thrown away its disguise. They have accorded it a prominent place in their media and have created all the necessary conditions for the propagation of the reactionary theories of Eurocommunism, have placed their universities at its service and are welcoming the "Eurocommunist" representatives at the White House, the Holy See in the Vatican and in other capitalist and revisionist countries as "genuine communists," as "modern communists." And they have also been welcoming their "socialism" and proclaimed it to be suitable to the bourgeoisie, imperialism and reaction. All this has opened up a new leaf on the path of the counterrevolutionary collaboration between U.S. imperialism and the domestic bourgeois monopolies, on the one hand, and the Eurocommunists and all modern revisionists, on the other. The other currents of modern revisionism have also generally supported and aided this overtly anticommunist and revisionist current.

The basis of all this lies in the evidence increasingly provided everyday by the Eurocommunists who, although they are "class brothers" with the Khrushchevite revisionists, subordinate everything to the protection of the interests of the bourgeoisie, of imperialism and its aggressive military-economic alliances. It is for this reason that Zbigniew Brzezinski, the special adviser of the U.S. President and one of the American ideologists and experts regarding the revisionist parties of Europe, stated, following his several meetings with the Eurocommunist leaders, that the possibilities in which the communist parties (read: revisionist parties--H.Z.) will, sooner or later, enter the government coalitions are increasing.

The social democracy, which the Eurocommunists have approached and seek nutrition from, also maintains a positive attitude toward Eurocommunism. Representatives of the Eurocommunist parties have made many trips and have organized endless meetings with the leaders of the reactionary social democratic parties in order to secure their full support. However, the social democracy shows "prudence." It seeks new concessions from the Eurocommunists that they, for example, accept [the claim] that it is not the Social Democrats who have slipped into the positions of the revisionists but it is the Eurocommunists who have slid into the positions of the social democracy and Lenin, the Communist Internationale and the Communist movement allegedly have unjustly condemned the reactionary social democracy and so forth. And the Eurocommunists do not withhold such a service from the social democracy. On this basis, they work to consolidate their counter-revolutionary revisionist-Social Democrat cooperation.

For their part, the Soviet revisionists have maintained and maintain a pragmatic attitude toward Eurocommunism. They stand on the same ideological and political positions as the Eurocommunists, with the revisionist Khrushchevite ideology as their basic source. The Khrushchevite revisionists, however,

cannot fail to see that the emergence of the Eurocommunists in such an overt manner against the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the socialist revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, tears off the mask of their own demagoguery. That is why they have even made some "criticism" of Eurocommunism, not concerning principled issues but merely of a diplomatic nature and on a revisionist basis to thus create the false impression that they disagree with certain "excesses" of the Eurocommunists. This can be best seen in the greeting addressed by the representative of the delegation of the Soviet Union's revisionist party to the Ninth Congress of the Spanish revisionist party, which stated, among other things, that the Soviets are prepared to wait and see what the Spanish model of socialism is going to be like and that nothing would prevent them from adopting anything valuable from that socialism. There we have another example of a master behaving with considerable "amiability" toward his apprentice.

It is worth stressing that Eurocommunism has also been hailed by the Yugoslav revisionists who even compare it with their [own] exit in 1948 which they present as a "bold" act in not adhering to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which they have completely betrayed. They are making this analogy to vindicate their own anti-Marxist theses about "specific socialism" and "national communism" and to convince others that socialism can be built and the country can be defended with U.S. assistance. This is complete support on the part of the Yugoslav revisionists for the new anticommunist variant of Eurocommunism.

Common elements are also to be found between Eurocommunism and the "three worlds theory." Like Eurocommunism, it preaches political and ideological pluralism and denies the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, treating and antagonistic contradictions between them as if they were nonantagonistic contradictions, as contradictions which supposedly occur and are resolved among the people. It supports military and economic imperialist alliances and preaches the possibility of building socialism with the aid of U.S. imperialism. All this has created the necessary premises for a counterrevolutionary cooperation between these two currents of present-day revisionism. "On this path of the defense of capitalism and imperialism, and particularly of U.S. imperialism." Comrade Enver Hoxha stated in his speech to Gjirokaster District cadres, "There competes also the theory of the "three worlds," whose partisans deny the revolution and hinder the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence." (Enver Hoxha, "when the present rests on steel-like foundations, the future is assured," pamphlet, p 25)

However, there is not one single stand toward Eurocommunism in the revisionist sheep-pen. The fact is that after the Italian, French and Spanish revisionists, other revisionist parties like the Greek, Japanese and others, which followed the example of the Eurocommunists in their congresses, erased from their programs all the theses of Marxism concerning the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and have declared that "Eurocommunism" is a narrow meaning, that it must be extended beyond Europe and

that this type of "communism" is also suitable for Japan and other developed capitalist countries in the West. And it could not be otherwise. Between the revisionist parties and among the Eurocommunist parties themselves there is and there can be no stable unity. This reflects the degree of their degeneration in the morass of treason and the zeal of the revisionists to come to the aid of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against Marxism-Leninism and the revolution. Even the emergence of Eurocommunism as a variant in itself shows that centrifugal tendencies are growing increasingly stronger in the revisionist sheep-pen. The Eurocommunist parties and the Western revisionist parties in general have declared that it is no longer possible to talk about one single leading center in the revisionist movement, rising overtly against Soviet hegemonism and for a greater degree of autonomy and independence in joining up with the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Carrillo stated this once again at the Ninth Congress of the Spanish revisionist party, when he defined his party as an "independent" party which rejects the existence of any "center" or of any "leading party."

Although Eurocommunism acts like an overt revisionism which rips off its mask, it must not be believed that this anticommunist revisionist variant does not make use of demagogy at all. Being renegades of Marxism-Leninism and of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, and the Eurocommunists declare at the same time that they are supposedly "adhering to the revolutionary essence of Marxism," that they are struggling for the "cause of communism," and so forth. This deceitful demagogy cannot be long-lived. The revolutionary proletariat and all the oppressed classes in the capitalist countries are becoming increasingly more convinced that the Eurocommunist revisionist parties, like all other variants of present-day revisionism, are obedient tools in the service of the monopoly bourgeoisie. As such they have no future since they have put themselves in the service of the decaying capitalist system which is condemned by history to inevitable destruction and annihilation. The future belongs to the revolution, socialism, the proletariat and the oppressed peoples who will rise in struggle and revolution to topple the capitalist and imperialist domination from its very foundations. Opportunists and renegades come and go, but the proletariat and its ideology, Marxism-Leninism, remain an invincible force. Amen!

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GDR MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA DETAILED

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 26 May 78 p 6

[Article by Joachim Nawrocki: "Hoffmann's Afrika Korps"--the National People's Army and State Security Forces Train Black Partisans"]

[Text] For many years the GDR has been rendering to the socialist states and liberation movements in Africa and the Near East not only humanitarian and technical assistance, but also military aid. East German training officers, military advisers, military engineers and technicians provide support to armies and guerrilla troops; weapons and technical materiel also come from communist Germany. Security police are built up with the help of the GDR, in order--so they say--to guarantee the "consolidation of the victories of the Revolution." In the past few weeks it was announced officially for the first time that soldiers of the GDR are directly participating in military operations in Africa--without this report being immediately denied by the GDR.

It has already been said from time to time for years that GDR citizens were fighting in Africa. Thus in 1969 in the Biafra War the Swedish Count von Rosen, who went into action as a pilot for Biafra, reported that GDR pilots in the service of Nigeria had flown in attacks in "Migs" and "Ilyushins" with great precision. One year ago President Mobutu of Zaire accused the GDR, saying that East German soldiers had been involved in the (first) attack on Shaba Province; during the recapture of the town of Mutshaba they are said to have captured, in addition to Cubans, also three men from the GDR and to have found arms and munitions from the GDR. The East Berlin regime rejected this assertion at the time.

But on Sunday the London OBSERVER asserted that the GDR had again had a role in the most recent combat in Shaba--"a lie" said the GDR Foreign Ministry. A few days earlier Ethiopian Chief of State Megistu Haile Mariam had declared without reserve, when the offensive against the rebels in Eritrea began: "In the camp of our friends we have the Soviet Union, Cuba, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the GDR and other truly socialist countries, which support us with deeds. The aforementioned truly progressive comrades live with us, die with us, and fight with us, and stand side by side with the broad masses of Ethiopians and their revolution, after coming here

from thousands of kilometers away." Apparently the chief of state had blabbed. For this striking passage in the speech which was delivered in the national language, Amharic, was missing in the English version as it was later broadcast by Radio Addis Ababa and the Ethiopian news agency. The GDR Foreign Ministry, when asked whether GDR citizens are participating in the combat in the Ethiopian province of Eritrea, replied laconically: "No comment."

The GDR has never concealed its sympathy for leftist colonels' regimes and for a change in the political map of Africa. Politburo member Werner Lamberz, the "special ambassador" for Africa and the Near East who was killed in an accident in Libya a while ago, spoke of the breathtaking tempo of the revolutionary development in Africa. For the first time on this continent those people's forces are in power who "see in the states of the specialist community, and not lastly the GDR, their natural allies." The GDR periodical MILITÄRWESEN over a year ago countered Western criticism of this military aid with the argument that a "further expansion of socialism" in no way contradicts the policy of detente.

Following the Soviet Union and Cuba, it is the GDR which is most prominently engaged in Africa. In the beginning of the seventies evidently the high command of the Warsaw Pact assigned to the GDR the task thenceforth to become active with military advisers, arms deliveries and transport on the black continent and to build up information links and military logistics. Since then the Defense Minister of the GDR, Army General Heinz Hoffmann, at 67 no longer the youngest, has been traveling regularly to Africa, and on occasion also to India and Peru. This month the minister made a tiring 14-day tour of Guinea, Angola, Nigeria, Congo-Brazzaville, and Tunisia.

On the way he made several revealing statements. In the People's Republic of the Congo (not to be confused with Zaire) Hoffmann mentioned "the cooperation of the people's armies of both countries." His Congolese colleague especially thanked the officers and soldiers of the National People's Army of the GDR for their notable assistance.

Arms Aid and Soldiers

In Angola Hoffmann assured his listeners--just at this time the Katanga rebels were marching on Kolwezi--that the army of the GDR would continue to stand in solidarity at the side of the people of Angola and its People's Army. Both in Angola and in Guinea Hoffmann's deputy, Lieutenant General Poppe, decorated indigenous soldiers "for good training results"--an indication that their instructors were GDR officers. And the Defense Minister of Angola courteously noted the material aid which "camarades of the GDR" had rendered during the liberation war.

For almost 10 years the GDR has been delivering arms for underground and guerrilla movements: to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), to the Frelimo in Mozambique, to the MPLA of Angola, and also to the Shaba

rebels operating out of Angola. The SWAPO in South West Africa (Namibia) and the Polisario in the western Sahara are also being supported materially. Both Zaire and Morocco have acted diplomatically against the GDR because of it. In the middle of last year Politburo member Lamberz assured the "patriotic forces of Zimbabwe" (Rhodesia) that they could in the future count on the military help of the GDR. Soon thereafter Radio Mozambique quite officially reported that the GDR is ready, after appropriate petitions, to help the liberation movements in southern Africa militarily.

It is obvious that successful guerrilla movements, once they are in power in the state, do not forget the help of the GDR. The relations of the GDR with Angola and Mozambique are therefore especially close. But also with Algeria, Libya, Iraq, Syria, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Benin, Nigeria, the People's Republic of the Congo, Tanzania and Zambia the GDR maintains not only political, but also military friendships. There are only fragmentary reports on the details of the military aid to these countries. The mosaic nevertheless shows a heavy commitment of the National People's Army and GDR security experts primarily in Africa.

To the Palestinians and other liberation movements, the GDR has delivered handheld guns, machine guns, grenade launchers, rocket launchers and articles of equipment. Guerrilla fighters are trained, before going into action, in neighboring states but partly also in the GDR. In the training camps of the National People's Army in the GDR, officers from South Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, and Syria have been trained.

According to Western information about 1,200 East German soldiers are active in Algeria as instructors for the artillery, the engineer troops, communications, and internal security. In Libya 450 military advisers, mainly tank soldiers, engineers, and minelayers, are said to be stationed. About 950 military advisers from the GDR are said to be in Iraq; allegedly pilots and antiaircraft specialists are helping in military training in Syria.

GDR technicians have built a radar station in the former Portuguese Guinea-Bissau; the GDR provides bodyguards for the politicians and instructors for the secret police. The number of military advisers in the People's Republic of the Congo is unknown; GDR military engineers helped in the construction of barracks. It is estimated that there are about 450 military advisers and 600 communications technicians of the National People's Army in Nigeria.

Expensive "Solidarity"

Especially prominent is the military presence of the GDR in the vicinity of the African Horn, in South Yemen and Ethiopia, and in southern Africa, in Angola and Mozambique. After the outbreak of the war between Somalia and Ethiopia two military engineer battalions are said to have been transferred from Somalia, which suddenly threw off the East Bloc, to the other side of the ocean in South Yemen. A year ago Werner Lamberz brought "solidarity goods" worth 10 million marks to Aden. The hijacked "Landshut" last fall had to leave the Aden airport quickly again because a visit of General Hoffmann was imminent.

At the beginning of this year the heads of government of the GDR and South Yemen agreed that the GDR would support "the consistent execution of the progressive path of development" in this South Arabian country. How consistent it is to be was reported shortly thereafter by the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH: About 2,000 "advisers" from the GDR, it said, had set up a security police, and controlled the prisons and concentration camps; they also participated in tortures. Amnesty International had published similar information 2 years ago. The GDR naturally denied these reports.

The Somalis assert that several thousand GDR soldiers flew in an air bridge from South Yemen to Ethiopia in order to be able to intervene in the battles with the rebels in the Ogaden and Eritrea. In addition the GDR--according to reports from Mogadishu, Beirut and Nairobi--delivered infantry weapons and antitank guns and helped the colonels' regime in Addis Ababa to organize a security police.

In Mozambique the GDR is at least as strongly represented as Cuba. Several hundred officers and soldiers are said to be active as military advisers, to be setting up reeducation camps, and training guerrillas for the struggle in South Africa. Before the OAU, the foreign minister of Mozambique said last year that if the Rhodesians continue to attack into his country, they would summon help from the East Bloc states and employ instructors from Cuba and the GDR.

The GDR has even promised the young Republic of Angola any kind of help "for the securing of the new state order," as GDR Volkskammer President Sindemann said. About 2,500 soldiers and officers of the National People's Army are said to be stationed there, including instructors and pilots; more than 10,000 tons of "solidarity goods" have been delivered to Angola from the GDR. The ubiquitous (before his death) Werner Lamberz spoke during a visit in the Angolan capital of Luanda, of cooperation in political, economic, cultural, and "other" spheres.

Some of these reports may be exaggerated, and some of the figures too high. Many reports derive from political opponents or come via dark channels to the public. Much remains absolutely hidden. Indisputably the GDR is rendering massive military support, and it publicly lends the revolutionary states of Africa the experience of its state security service as well.

The Research Institute of Political Science of Cologne University has estimated that the GDR annually ships 200 million marks worth of arms and military equipment to Africa. Nonmilitary "solidarity deliveries" reach a value of approximately 300 million marks per year. For the relatively small GDR, poor in foreign exchange, that is not little. Unquestionably, however, the Soviet Union has pressured the GDR, which is powerful for East Bloc conditions, to participate in the assumption by the Soviets of political influence in Africa through materiel and personnel.

6108

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

GDR INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICAN CONFLICTS CITED

Cologne RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German 9 Jun 78 p 5

[Report by RHEINISCHER MERKUR correspondent Karl Breyer in Kinshasa: "The great Conspiracy, Moscow and East Berlin planned the Shaba Attack"]

[Text] The West intends to give a helping hand to the states in Black Africa threatened by Soviet and Cuban expansionist desires--if only indirectly, by encouraging countries on the black continent to render active assistance to those in distress, possibly in the form of an African "peace troop." It is high time for that.

With the ulterior motive of soon being able to control the largest cobalt deposits in the world in the mineral-rich Shaba Province in Zaire and thereby to put the West under pressure, the Soviet Union, the GDR and Poland started a few weeks ago to buy up all the cobalt they could get their hands on at London's free market. A few days later the prices started going up, from \$ 8 per pound to twenty. Cobalt is an extremely important metal strategically which is used, among other things, for building satellites and missiles and in the aircraft industry. Today, 2 weeks after the Shaba invasion, a ton of cobalt already costs DM 95.850. Luf Lubett, president of the metal dealers, announced in London: "The Russians knew what was coming. They and the East Germans and the Poles bought what they could."

Almost at the same time, the GDR Defense Minister, 67-year-old Karl-Heinz Hoffmann, went to Africa. At Congo-Brazzaville, he and his military delegation were given thanks for their considerable assistance. Hoffmann himself announced his country promised "to continue the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism on all continents." Then he and Lt Gen Helmut Hoppe, who handles Angola, went on to Luanda. From there they inspected the military bases of Luso, Texeira de Sousa and Henrique de Carvalho. It was from those bases that the Katanga gendarmes later started their attack against the towns of Kolwezi and Muthsatsha in Shaba Province.

The former Congolese Prime Minister Antoine Gizenga also was at that point already in Angola. Considering himself the political successor of Patrice Lumumba, Gizenga continues to be the Soviets' favorite and slated to assume power, if possible, in Kinshasa, once Mobuto is overthrown. Already back

in the '60's he had formed a counter-government in Stanleyville (Kisangani) and was diplomatically recognized by the Soviet Union. Today he is shuttling to and fro between Brussels, Algiers and Luanda.

Plans for an invasion of Shaba Province go back to secret negotiations at the Ninth SED Congress in East Berlin. Even then the most important partners of the talks were Lt. Gen Helmut Hoppe and the Angolan Commander Pedro Maria Tonha, governor of Luambo Province and member of the Central Committee Politburo of the MPLA in Angola. Hoppe got the assignment to coordinate the work of the GDR military advisors, train the invasion troops and design the strategic plans.

Via the Pankow office "Industrie-technischer Aussenhandel" [Industrial-technical Foreign Trade], the state-owned enterprises "Eisen, Blech Metall" [Iron, sheet metal, metal] under the Defense Ministry, with its seat in Karl-Marx-Stadt, have been sending infantry weapons (the Soviet machine gun license model Kalashnikov), the SKS carbine (Simonov) and the PM army pistol (Makarov), guns (antiaircraft and small-caliber board canons), ammunition (infantry ammunition, 37 to 120 mm caliber grenades, hand grenades, land and tank mines), chemical weapons, engineering equipment, motor vehicles (jeeps, radio cars, command vehicles) and other war materiel. The bills of lading of GDR shipping companies also contain, however, Soviet equipment retired by the NVA and new weapons from other East bloc suppliers, among them mainly products from the CSSR.

According to the political sciences research institute at Cologne University, the GDR spends annually approximately DM 212 million for war materiel shipped to Africa. Military bases, raw materials and political influence are the objective. Nor is East Berlin particularly thrifty with "human materiel." Late in June 1977, Werner Lamberz, meanwhile deceased, member of the SED Politburo, announced in Lagos the GDR was willing to send troops to southern Africa in case the "competent authorities in the countries concerned make appropriate requests." In an interview given the French paper LE FIGARO, in Dakar, the leader of the anticommunist liberation movement UNITA, Dr Jonas Savimbi, has now come out with figures: "There are now in Angola 20,000 Cuban soldiers, 6,000 Cuban technicians, another 3,000 soldiers of the NVA of the GDR, and 2,000 Russian military advisors and army personnel."

Only a few days ago, "Stimme der DDR" [GDR Radio] reported by short-wave transmission to Africa: "They are coming from the bezirks of Karl-Marx-Stadt (Editor: formerly Chemnitz), Dresden, Magdeburg and Cottbus: the 90-men strong Blue Shirt Brigade of the FDJ, sent by the GDR into the former Portuguese African colony of Angola, is doing its duty there through sacrificial work, used now and then even after regular working hours for putting out fires." This "Blue Shirt Brigade" is a group of military specialists training in guerrilla troop uniforms. A reliable source has reported that actually the brigade is composed of 36 officers of the GDR armed forces, 25 members of the Ministry for State Security, 18 members of the GDR People's Police and 11 members of the premilitary Society for Sport and Technology.

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

WEST BERLINER SENTENCED--The Halle Bezirk Court on Wednesday sentenced a resident of Berlin (West) Wolf-Dietrich Gehrman to 12 years imprisonment for repeated crimes in accordance with paragraph 105 of the Criminal Code. On behalf of the agent Hagen, a member of a criminal association established in Berlin (West), he had been incited to constant misuse of the GDR transit routes and for a fairly long time took part in organizing these crimes. The vehicle used for the crime, registration number B-YU 687, was impounded. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1105 GMT 7 Jun 78 LD]

COURT SENTENCES WEST BERLINER--Berlin--The Frankfurt/Oder (Bezirk) Court sentenced yesterday West Berliner Werner Wojtkowiak to 7 years imprisonment for crimes against paragraph 105 of the Criminal Code. As an agent of the criminal Heyer gang operating in the FRG and in Berlin (West) he was induced to misuse the transit agreement. It was noted in the evidence that the gang leader Heyer recruits agents through advertisements in the Springer press, and that he threatens the lives and welfare of transit travelers and other persons through the use of unsafe vehicles. The vehicle used for the crime was confiscated. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1103 GMT 9 Jun 78 LD]

FRG-GDR TALKS ON BERLIN--Berlin--The negotiations between the GDR and the FRG on the contractual settlement of legal procedure were continued in Berlin on Tuesday, 30 May. The GDR delegation was led by the state secretary in the Justice Ministry, Dr Hans Ranke. The FRG delegation was led by the state secretary in the Federal Ministry of Justice, Dr Guenther Erkel. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1409 GMT 30 May 78 LD]

CSO: 2300

POLAND

OBJECTIONS TO SCHOOL QUERIES ON 'NONCONFORMING' BEHAVIOR

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 6 May 78 p 7

[Article by Jan Bijak: "Why the File?"]

[Text] This is one of those documents which arouse "mixed feelings." The intention is proper, the goal is kind-hearted, the problem is socially important and almost everything is worthy of approval, except, I won't say a trifle, because it is not a trifle, except for a flaw in the method.

Last year the Guidelines and Program of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing on the matter of preventing social nonconformity in children and youth were published. In a letter to the superintendents, inspectors and directors of schools, the undersecretary of state in this Ministry, Boleslaw Dylak, writes that along with the overwhelming group of youth proceeding in accord with social expectations, there exists a certain percentage of socially nonconforming youth. Admittedly data from the Ministry of Justice have an optimistic ring, and the coefficient of delinquency in youth was lower in 1976 than at any time in the postwar era, but further actions are indispensable. This explains the source of the guidelines and the program. Let me repeat again that the guidelines are proper and the program is necessary. Only one provision makes me uneasy.

The guidelines introduce written information on pupils who are threatened and socially nonconforming by means of special Pupil Record Cards. They are to serve as a full diagnosis of the environments and phenomena causing social nonconformity and to help in adopting indispensable remedial methods. Every school (with certain exceptions) keeps a record, the information contained on the cards is confidential, and the basis for establishing them is a decision by a teaching team of a school, issued on the proposal of class teachers or information transmitted through a unit of the MO [Ministry of Education], a court, a school doctor or a public health agency, a youth or social organization or the plant where the parents work. The cards can be used by a classroom teacher, a school educator or an executive of the pedagogical council, a school director and his deputy, pedagogical

supervisory workers, representatives of an educational trade information bureau, and representatives of a court, prosecution office, health service and organs of the Civil Militia. Every year on the basis of these files a collective report is to be made to the proper department in the Ministry of Education and Upbringing.

Perhaps I am a traditionalist and do not appreciate modern methods of procedure, but as a former pupil I remember that in the schools known to me things were handled well without such reports and files. Socially nonconforming youth were even more numerous then than today, considering that social expectations were much different and that often anyone who met the expectations of the ZMP [Young Leaders' Convention] was a source of disappointment to his parents, and whoever brought joy to the school system saddened his classroom teacher. Teachers knew us well, knew a great deal about us and our homes, and wanted to educate each one into being an honest man and a good Pole, and they looked for a method to attain this goal with everyone. The interesting point is that they succeeded.

However, I do not wish to fall into the role of a sentimental old fogey and confine myself to saying that things were one way or another in the old days. I believe that separating some school children into a group known for social nonconformity and putting them into a special report system is pedagogically unsound, and the interested agencies will not derive very great advantage from them. For juvenile delinquents we have files and reports arranged by the competent organs, and we even have special schools and educational institutions. Let them manage as best they can. In school the only sensible and pedagogically justified division into groups is division into classes, and anything else should be a function of the individual evaluation of the pupil, his progress and behavior, and knowledge about him is the primer of any educational activity. For years there have been well-known methods of obtaining such knowledge and making use of it. A report makes sense in an industrial plant where several thousand people work and where a report on a card can support a bonus or discharge, and the card file justifies the existence of a cadre department. In schools this new report may serve only to calm the consciences of indifferent pedagogs and may sometimes, rarely, facilitate inquiries by investigating authorities, although I would prefer that they did not begin their work with an inspection of school safes. It will not help teachers much, and on the other hand the nonconformist himself may become even more nonconforming if he learns of the record, and this is probable in view of the wide circle of people with access to the records. Such a formalized label may become a permanent characteristic of a child or juvenile.

It is particularly true that the criteria for recording those socially nonconforming are not at all precise. Among others the report includes these symptoms of social nonconformity: common truancy, repeating a year, running away from home, tattooing, as well as fighting, petty theft, drinking alcohol and taking drugs. Nonconformity is sexual demoralization and suicide (the card is divided into two subgroups: attempted and

performed, and the latter certainly ends an honorable deed, does it not?) Nonconformity is "participation in informal negative groups."

The superintendents' offices printing handy definitions managed to cope with the indefiniteness of these concepts. We say that they are not very helpful. Here, for example, nonconforming persons "fill social roles incompatible with the expectations of society and generally accepted goals and norms." Running away from home is: "voluntary abandonment of a family home or another place of permanent residence lasting at least a day." Habitual truancy is: "voluntarily repeated absence or abandonment of school lessons." Suicide is: "any case of death resulting from an act performed by the victim for the purpose of killing himself." Sexual deviation is: "sexual activity incompatible with obligatory legal and moral norms." This thought is also expanded: "In the sexual role we are interested in relations between individuals of opposite sexes." It is not obvious why lovers of the same sex are spared.

In conclusion I believe that the Record Cards for socially nonconforming pupils are superfluous, go beyond the limits of normal school duties and in certain cases can cause damage. This concept besmirches the interesting and sensible program of the Ministry in the area of preventing social nonconformity in children and youth.

6806

CSO: 2600

POLAND

SOCIETY SAID TO JUDGE PARTY MEMBERS EVER MORE CRITICALLY

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 5, May 78 p 9

[Article by Stanislaw Swiniarski, member of the PZPR Gmina Committee in Brody]

[Text] For a long time I have been bothered by the problem of why some comrades (including some with a certain amount of training) suddenly leave the party, although the general social opinion is that they are people beyond reproach. My attention has also been drawn to the fact that both among fully mature people and among youth there are some who do not decide to join the party or who decide to do so only after repeated discussions, although again they are individuals who enjoy a perfect reputation in their residential and working communities. Sometimes they are even distinguished by their social activity and have considerable authority. My observations have suggested certain ideas to me which I would like to share.

For one thing we are not always fully aware of the serious and critical social evaluation we are subject to as party members. Those of us who exercise the very obvious or administrative functions are subject to particularly sharp appraisal. By this I do not mean to say that only those of absolute integrity can possess a party card. However, I do wish to stress that a party card obliges one to act in every situation in conformity with civil and social interests, and certainly obliges him to behave honorably.

I dare say that from this point of view not all of us are in good shape. Comrades voluntarily leaving our ranks (although this is a very rare phenomenon) say, for example, that they have lost confidence in the views expressed by us, and cite examples of the attitudes of comrades which in their opinion contradict the principles of progress voiced. They say: "...I don't want anything to do with such two-faced people as X or Y." After an extended exchange of opinions, those with whom we speak finally perceive the difference between the party, its ideology and actual people representing the party, but their trauma generally remains and they do not wish to return to the organization.

There is a similar situation with some tested and often exemplary individuals who avoid discussing the party, and who are very difficult to convince into joining the party. Usually these people are informed about the party tasks, but are not convinced by the slight effectiveness of our activity nor by the way some of us react to controversial events and facts.

The rising level of education and the universal range of mass information media raise the general and political awareness of youth to a higher and higher level. There is no lack of examples of young people from youth organizations entering the party on their own initiative. This is the proper procedure, especially when people enter our ranks without preliminary and tedious agitation.

This does not mean that agitation is worthless. To the contrary, we must always be concerned about the flow of new forces into our party. This concern must be supported by our complete civic attitude and, obviously, by preparatory educational and propagandistic measures. However, it seems that when the candidates themselves apply to the party, we are dealing with good work on the part of local party links.

At the same time the rising level of education and awareness of our society causes us, party members, to be subject to more and more critical evaluation. Our relations with professional, civic and even family obligations are subject to public verification on every side.

Obviously we are not perfect and nothing exempts us from continuing education as party members. I believe that for many of us belonging to the party and sharing in its undertakings is sometimes a basic way of obtaining ideologically correct political education. We are obliged to act in such a way that this education is not jeopardized.

A party card should not be used, as happens sometimes, for developing a personal career. The card is primarily an obligation to be concerned about the social good. Exercising a party function should be understood as a socialist social service, and not as a field for private ambition and accounts.

It is easier to win people for the party and to obtain internal cohesion where there are healthful interpersonal relations, and where political engagement does not lead only to prattle. People do not leave such organizations but identify themselves with them and with party affairs. We must always be aware that the party, its authority and its policies are evaluated through the prism of our attitudes, our relations to work, and our reactions to the vicissitudes of reality.

6806
CSO: 2600

SERIOUS DEFICIENCIES SEEN IN WORKER SELF-GOVERNMENT

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 21, 27 May 78 p 3

[Article by Jacek Maziarski: "In the Name of the Workers"]

[Text] Five years ago I happened to raise a storm with my article "Partner" (POLITYKA 39/73). In it I wrote about the shortcomings of worker self-government. Sometimes disquieting phenomena are hidden behind the imposing facade of the meetings of the KSR [Workers' Self-Government Conference]: formalistic and superficial presentation of plans offered by management, minute participation by workers, scanty orientation in matters of real interest to the workforce, expectation of directives from higher authorities, a share in the action and ordinary opportunism in many of the active workers. At that time I wrote in "Partner": "Worker self-government has laws, ordinances and the explicit political support of the party behind it, and it is still difficult to find an expert in the field who could confirm with a clear conscience that worker democracy and self-government are making satisfactory progress in our enterprises."

Even 5 years ago critical evaluations of the state of worker self-government appeared to be something shocking and scandalous. As a souvenir I have kept a clipping from TRYBUNA SAMORZADU ROBOTNICZEGO (No 17/1973), which considered it its duty to steadfastly resist the problem of questioning the successes of planned self-government. Perhaps something was missing somewhere or another at some time, but the situation in 1973 in the opinion of the TRYBUNA was excellent and the future promised to be even better: "...In his opinions the author is, as the youth of today say, 'behind the times'. Maziarski has completely forgotten the futuristic aspect of this matter and therefore his publication misses the point, for he is speaking about events in the present time and drawing conclusions from them."

A few years have passed and on the front page of this same TRYBUNA SAMORZADU ROBOTNICZEGO I read opinions describing the current state of affairs: "There exist enterprises in which worker self-government is a veritable ephemera, appearing only when an authoritative recommendation comes about having a KSR session. Then the functioning of "democratic forms of management" is simulated by loudly proclaiming an organized discussion in which there is no room for any authentic feeling nor critical analysis of situations, and from which there is no result. And even this does not happen every day. There are no creative conferences, no social control, no current information about the implementation of tasks nor an independent evaluation of situations."

The TRYBUNA SAMORZADU ROBOTNICZEGO laments that instead of an honest evaluation of plant democracy we have platitudes which are as close to reality as the fist is to the nose: "In general nothing emerges but trite and vague statements that 'the worker self-government conferences have considerably reinforced their position,' that 'the status of the creative discussions is rising,' or finally that 'the role of the self-government resolutions in the life of the enterprises has increased considerably'."

I am obviously not citing these opinions to substantiate my point, that the TRYBUNA SAMORZADU ROBOTNICZEGO has turned tail and finally had to admit that the status of plant democracy is not rising as propitiously as could be wished for. I simply wish to state that in recent times, let us say in the last 10 or 12 months, the climate around worker self-government has begun to change in a noticeable way. The statements in the TRYBUNA SAMORZADU ROBOTNICZEGO are something on the order of a barometer arrow, its increased criticism signals the approach of high pressure.

Today no one need be convinced any longer that ceremonial formality cannot replace actual workforce cooperation in enterprise management. It has also become clear that control exercised by plant opinion, authentic discussions and consultations are indispensable conditions for the efficient functioning of the economy. Without active and authentic self-government we cannot cope with the not infrequently occurring phenomena of bureaucratic and technocratic deformation.

The last meeting of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee (22 May of this year) was a spectacular proof of the growing importance of worker self-government problems. In the report from the Bureau meeting we read, among other things, that directions were outlined for further improvement in the functioning of worker self-government in cooperative decisions on the basic problems in the development of enterprises and in the performance of social control. It was decided to gradually expand the system of worker self-government in state enterprises and an increase in the participation of workers in self-government activities was recommended.

It will be no exaggeration for me to write that worker self-government matters today are at a critical point, and that a situation has developed which requires new reflection on our part. Problems, exceeding the framework outlined by the Law on Worker Self-Government, already 12 years old, have developed.

Above all it is clear to the naked eye that the model of plant democracy constructed 12 years ago no longer has any life. Worker council elections were given up a couple of years ago in many enterprises (in TRYBUNA SAMORZADU ROBOTNICZEGO, No 8/77, W. Kotowicz writes: "The number of these councils has dropped from several thousand to several hundred, placing worker self-government in a completely new situation"). A whole new state of affairs has developed.

In the next place the management mechanism has changed. About 70 percent of the industrial plants are already operating in the WOG [Large Economic Units] system. Thus significant decisions are made above the main worker self-government conference, since workforce representation has a right to inspect the policy of its own factory, but not that of WOG. But even if there were no WOG, an old dilemma would still remain: how to harmonize co-management of the workforce with the hyperactivity of associations and ministries which often make their own special and fragmentary decisions?

Actually economic administration in many cases has learned to make light of workforce opinion. KSR have been treated like the fifth wheel on a car, an organ which exists under the command of the law but which, in the opinion of more than one director, is completely useless. Let us add that the individual style of arbitrary command has been strengthened, not leaving much room for workforce activity. But this is nothing new. It seems to me that the new point in the current situation is rather the bending of the bureaucratic and technocratic philosophy of the administration professed by many leaders of economic organisms. There has been an improper distortion of the theory accepted on the individual responsibility of chiefs, which has been equated in practice to liberting them from workforce control.

An indication of a new climate was found, among other things, in the statements at the Second National Party Conference in which, a very significant matter, the KSR were expressly condoned. The first secretary of the PZPR Executive Committee in Czestochowa, Jozef Grygiel, said at the conference: "Today we would be able to report greater accomplishments were it not for some continuing poor practices in ministries and associations. For example the KSR are approached with plans, their aptness is justified, the people accept the proposals and resolve to carry them out. But when changes have to be made, there is no turning to the KSR, and so-called operative corrections are made in the plans, often in the seclusion of offices. And these corrections concern matters of production quality and quantity, assortment, employment costs and so forth. This reduces the status of worker self-government, impairs the directive nature of the plan, and reduces initiative and involvement."

Methods change in administration. For a good number of years words like collective, discussion and control sounded a little old fashioned and were associated with sloppiness and inefficiency. In 1978 the industrial chiefs have lost a great deal of their self-confidence, and their arbitrary and autocratic style of administration has clearly become outdated.

Plant democracy and worker self-government do not develop in a vacuum. They cannot be artificially pumped up nor mufflers applied to them, in compliance with the current whims and fashions of economic administration. Sandor Gaspar, the secretary general of the Hungarian central trade union office and chairman of the SFZZ [World Federation of Trade Unions], hit the mark when he formulated the principle: "The degree of development of democracy within plants is a determinant of the level of social development, a measure of fulfillment of a developed socialist society."

Observation of the transformations of recent years make it impossible to overlook the clear trend toward democracy in relations in various spheres of public life. The need for partnership relations is developing in our society. Self-government mechanisms are becoming stronger, still frail but more and more definite. The interests of society are becoming concentrated on the problems of consultation, civil control and public announcement of decisions.

One point worthy of attention is that the need for increasing the influence of the workforce is not coming to maturity in our country alone. Perhaps we are at a rather critical point, because we possess positive and negative experience spanning 20 years, but the time has already passed when our partners in the socialist community have regarded our self-government as something experimental and peculiar. Workforce participation in enterprise management is the subject of the day in every one of the CEMA countries. Thus, for example, this year throughout industry the Hungarians are introducing a system of co-management based on a trade structure, and plant democracy there will speak through the mouths of eligible men of trust and members of trade councils. In Romania, again this year, on the other hand the so-called system of worker trade councils will become universal, with administrative approval (half of the council plus one must be elected by the workforce).

Poland is no exception, but only one of many countries seeking better formulae for institutionalized self-government in plants. The climate is changing and is forcing greater interest to be paid to what our neighbors are doing, either better or simply differently.

For years our discussions on plant self-government have been burdened by a significant increase in interest in legal organizational problems. Negotiators are primarily interested in institutional solutions, the range of competence, and the adjustment of legal regulations to the modified structures of economic administration. These are certainly important issues, but what is most important?

As I see it, the authenticity and strength of worker democracy does not depend on the fact that a number of elected or appointed workforce representatives can actually carry on discussions with the plant director, and even with a WOG chief if necessary. The essential point of the problem lies elsewhere. The final goal, after all, is not specialized competence in the institution of self-government, because if it were only a matter of efficiency the matter could be settled most easily by hiring full-time experts.

It is not a matter of the institution, but of the workforce, of its right to information and to have its opinions heard, even critical opinions, of authentic control on the part of the people, of the democratic structure of relations in which the worker would more and more feel himself not only part of the workforce, but a co-owner of social property, someone who counts and is respected.

Evaluations of the self-government achievements in our enterprises can be evaluated in different ways, with everything depending on the point of view we wish to regard. If we are primarily interested in institutions, it is easier to speak of achievements and services. Thousands of effectively organized conferences, flexibly operating teams, substantial corrections introduced into plan drafts by engineers and economists, all of these are counted as a plus. Still the picture changes completely when we ask about workforce participation.

The current model of self-government does not attract workers into making joint decisions. This does not only involve the fact that the percentage of workers in the KSR ranks is dropping despite attempts to counteract this. Research of Dr Waldemar Stelmach show that only from 37 to 47 percent of industrial workers queried have a feeling of actual joint management in the plant. This result is not at all surprising in the light of other material available. For example, Prof Dr J. Kulpinska in relatively recent research (1976) came up with results demanding reflection: 42 percent of men and 62 percent of women in general were unable to say whether anything has changed in the past 2 years in the work of worker self-government (for comparison, 40 percent of the men and 51 percent of the women were not informed about the work of the trade council). For these people workforce representation might just as well cease to exist.

The first and most serious error in our trade democracy appears to be that it includes a relatively thin layer of workers, and that the formalized ceremonials of the KSR sessions deviate too much from the expectations of the workforce. The straitjacket form in which worker opinion has to be presented is absolutely too restricted, and therefore it is not strange that in some cases this opinion takes shape outside of the official form, in cloakrooms, in messhalls and in discussions at work.

To this let us add one more fact frequently lost from the field of vision. Let us discuss worker self-government as if it were a phenomenon available,

at least in theory, to every worker. This is, to put it delicately, a simplification. Of over 30,000 enterprises in our country, not quite 10,000 have some form of self-government (and in many cases this only exists on paper). I mention this fact to illustrate how much must still be done if we are to approach the proposed ideal in which every worker will actually be able to have a voice in making decisions on enterprise matters.

The major part of the work is still before us. We must not only somehow deal with new problems, such as worker representation on the level of associations and WOG, but above all take care of old failures.

Why should plant democracy take in only a few plants, only a segment of the economy? Why should its functioning be limited to the highest levels, to negotiations with the administration, as if matters concerning departments, divisions and even brigades were not worthy of attention? It is just the opposite. The things which interest workers most, for example, promotions, norms, bonuses, proper division of benefits, assignment of better and worse jobs, the way people are treated, work organization and so forth, all of these things should not be settled at the annual self-government conferences and not at the highest level, but right on the floor of the production departments. But this is right where the gap is, since there is no department self-government.

However anyone who thinks that it is enough to create new self-government links in order to achieve implementation of worker opinion in the simplest way is mistaken. The problem does not consist in the creation of new representative bodies which, it may be feared, would fall into exactly the same formalism which still makes workers unwilling to become involved in KSR work.

We must rather begin with the question of whether the current direction of self-government interests completely coincides with the hopes of the workers, if there is any involvement with what the people are most concerned with? The themes of KSR work, outlining directions of enterprise development, evaluating production plans, investments, offers to associations and ministries, has not in my opinion been a reflection of worker hopes but of the interests of the economic and technical cadres of enterprises.

Our model of self-government was formed rather early, and it came into being before crystallization of the economic hopes of the workforce. Thus for many years the KSR were able to function, not so much in the role of advocate of plantwide opinion, but rather as a representative of those workers who wanted to have their share in administrative economic debates, sometimes in quarrels and in the planning and management procedure, which is not at all equivalent to the idea of joint management which the average worker has. It is debatable whether in the 1960's, and even in the first half of the 1970's, there was any mass need felt keenly by workers for involvement in enterprise matters. Only the most mature and better educated members of the worker class expressed this kind of aspiration.

However, in the last years of the 1970's we have to deal with a new social situation, one which directly affects the immense increase in the need for workforce participation in self-government.

One consequence of the 1970's, resulting from the consciously implemented policy of the party, is the undoubted reinforcement of the class feeling of the workers. Although it may sound a little rhetorical, the formulation must be used that the working class has been strengthened in its role as a decisive force in society. This is not only a matter of immeasurable, purely psychological changes. Many factors can be included in the obvious categories of sociology. There is no sense summarizing **sociological** monographs here, but rather it is enough to point out a few features, essential in my opinion, of the modern working class in Poland. First of all, one-third of industrial workers have more than an elementary education, which cannot help shaping the horizons of interest of the workforce. Secondly, almost half of the workers (exactly 46.1 percent according to data from the cadre census of 1973) are in the age group of 30-49, and this may indicate something about their maturity, training, experience and so forth. Thirdly and lastly, a characteristic feature of our working class is its concentration in large enterprises (one-third of our workers work in plants employing more than 2,000 people). The relations found in large plants lead to an acceleration of formation of what we call class awareness, without attention always being given to the content of this idea, to the fact that this really means class awareness on the part of the workers.

We have entered a period characterized by more and more clamoring of worker aspirations for joint decision-making and control over administration activities. It is not certain that the minds of managers at various levels have fully achieved an awareness of the practical consequences of these psychosocial changes. I have reason to believe that many industrial chiefs still see before their eyes the former, rather inactive, not very critical and kind-hearted body of people from the countryside.

But what does maturation of working class awareness mean? Prof Dr Leszek Gilejko, researching worker attitudes, demonstrated very convincingly on an empirical basis that an increase in the qualifications and education of workers goes hand in hand with increased criticism and with increased demands levied on various plant organizations: "Workers with the lowest income more rarely find that plant conditions do not represent worker interests in an enterprise. This is done much more frequently by workers with higher income. Particularly critical are workers earning more than 4,000 zlotys, and of those earning more than 5,000 zlotys, up to 20.7 percent state that plant conditions do not at all strive to implement worker proposals and demands. (....) The need for participation and involvement in management is closely associated with the level of professional competence and the general education of the workers. Workers with higher professional qualifications and general education have a much more developed hierarchy of values and evaluations of social reality, and much more developed needs, especially needs for higher status and a more democratic orientation than

other workers." (L. Gilejko, "Attitudes of the Working Class and Their Conditioning," PRZEGLAD ZWIAZKOWY, No 4/78).

We can also learn facts from this same research of L. Gilejko, which may appear paradoxical and incomprehensible to more than one director. One is that workers, as they have more training and competence, become definitely more convinced that statements by self-government organs are an artificial way of fulfilling their demands. This is clear. But in this same group of cadre, highly qualified workers, a simultaneous tolerance is also increasing for socially harmful methods of meeting demands (reduction in production quality, evasion of carrying out instructions, work slowdowns and so on). We are consequently facing a choice. If we improve the effectiveness of self-government mechanism, the mature members of the working class will certainly use it in a constructive way (up to 80 percent of those investigated trust in the expedience of self-government statements). However, if the mechanism of plant democracy does not meet the expectations of the workforce, there is a growing probability that the workers will seek other solutions.

Manipulative and sociotechnical concepts are utterly alien to me. There are things which must be said clearly and completely. It is impossible to accept instrumental and manipulative treatment of worker self-government, not only because of structural relations, but simply for pragmatic reasons. One must be very naive to believe in any kind of sociotechnical tricks.

In a socialist state we should not fear militancy and criticism from the working class. Quite the contrary, we are keenly interested in the motivation of worker criticism, and in converting it into a driving force of our development. Addressing a nationwide conference devoted to worker self-government a year ago, Edward Gierek said, among other things (7 April 1977): "It is indispensable for worker control in the activities of enterprises and plants to be strengthened. We see an important factor in worker social control raising economic efficiency, and eliminating private attitudes and tendencies. This is an essential condition for the development of socialist democracy, a condition for the further development of the nation."

Let us make matters perfectly clear. We need authentic worker self-government, but not to improve moods or to fulfill perspective humanistic visions, which we certainly should not forget, but the heart of the matter is involved, as always, in the prosaic realities of life.

Management and development form a complex structure which includes not only material resources, machinery and technology, but also the aspirations of the people participating in production. A concept of management can be imagined which would attempt to abstract from the purposes of people and be limited exclusively to tactical and organizational measures. This would be an imaginative model, perhaps even tempting some because of its apparent simplicity, but it would be sentenced before hand to inefficiency because it scorns what is vital for progress, productivity and creative dynamics.

We are obviously speaking of the human factor, since the human attitude toward work predetermines the results of management, at least at the same degree as technology. Therefore the evolution of social structures in enterprises is a task just as important as the modernization of industry. In actuality these are two sides of the same coin. It is obviously possible to manage without the joint psychic participation of the workforce. But the fact is that this would be management which is half steam, trivial and uneffected.

We already have behind us a period of indecision and vacillation, especially with worker self-government. The question today is not whether it is worthwhile developing mechanisms of worker democracy. The question is: What is to be done in order to bring self-government closer to the expectations of the workforce, to liberate it from the ballast of sham activity and to enable it to develop in conformity with the real interests of the workers.

It would be senseless to gloss over the existence of discrepancies which decisively affect relations between the workforce and the institution of self-government. The discrepancies result from a different hierarchy of priorities: desiring to substantiate its usefulness, and even somewhat subject to pressure from the economic administration, self-government places fulfillment of the production plan at the top of its tasks. This is certainly a function to be taken seriously. On the other hand the workers expect a model of self-government administration which would fully consider the function of representing the interests of the workforce and administration control.

The research of Dr **Alexandr Owieczek** (WSNS [Higher School of Social Service]) makes it possible to conclude that convictions of unsettling proportions have been formed in the workforce. More than 54 percent of workers queried believe that fulfillment of production plans was improved in 1971-1973, while only 14.7 percent of those queried perceived any improvement in the area of workforce control over plant activity, and 16.3 percent of those queried noted an increase in the influence of workers on enterprise affairs. Obviously these conclusions cannot be generalized and cannot even be applied uncritically to today, but even if the data and relationships have changed, the problem itself continues to remain current.

Therefore self-government, if it is to be an authentic body accepted by the workforce, must be adjusted to the factual interests and problems of the workers. The leaders of enterprises should deeply reflect on the appeal of Edward Gierek contained in the statement cited above at the self-government conference in April of this year: "The development of worker self-government depends on your initiative, on the authority which you assume, and on skill in taking up the problems of most importance for the working people."

It is obvious that support of self-government by party authority will be of decisive significance. Party organizations can and should to a still greater degree stimulate criticism and aggressiveness in self-government organs,

since they are a natural and accepted advocate of worker interest in the opinion of the workforce.

Further self-government development, despite those who are inclined to attach particular importance to legal regulations, will in my opinion simply depend on democratization of relations in enterprises. I do not know if there is any sense in accelerating the application of legal frameworks for phenomena which are just beginning to develop. It would be better to leave a wide margin for practical accomplishment, in order not to repeat old mistakes, where self-government was fashioned according to dreams and not realities. The most important matter currently is authenticity, and this is worth fighting for. Let self-government take a form in accord with the desire of the workforce. After all, this is the only source of strength and viability for self-government, the support of the body of people in whose name it functions.

6806

CSO: 2600

JOURNAL RESPONDS TO ATTACK ON NEW ELITE

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 18, 6 May 78 pp 4, 5

[Article by Jerzy Urban: "Battle Array--A Polemic." For related Myslek article see JPRS 71220, 1 June 1978, No 1541 of this series, p 138.]

[Text] Suddenly in several periodicals at once, an attempt is being made to replay controversies of 10 and more years ago. The publications are designed in a manner which creates the impression that there is a desire to reanimate the divisions of those days. The authors who thus exert themselves assume that the last 7 years of Poland's postwar history have not happened, that it is possible to forget them. No views have been tested in practice, nothing has occurred during this period, old quarrels, problems and pseudoproblems have not died down or wasted away. The clock must be set back a decade, for the country is at a similar crossroads as then, and the threads of that time must be picked up, the fears of yesteryear must be revived.

Such is the guiding spirit of the article by Wieslaw Myslek, among others, which was published in PRAWO I ZYCIE (No 17) under the expressive title "The Second Offensive." But let us read:

"The realization of the principles of the first offensive was not conducive to keeping alive the initial intensity of radical social battle cries beginning timidly, later more openly, attempts were made to question the very principle of social equality. It could even happen that in the pages of certain periodicals egalitarianism was equated to extremism, that attempts were made to ridicule it by reducing the principle of social equality to the level of the postulate 'everyone's soup must come from the same kettle.' It is symptomatic that while the negation of the idea of social equality made itself known in expressions that were as often vehement as farcical, attempts at intervention against the elitarianism that was building up were rather timid and sporadic. It may have seemed that social radicalism was becoming an anachronistic posture, an unfashionable one, so to speak. Tendencies that were not openly, but effectively proelite were on the counter-offensive. The matter was simple enough: their ideology reflected not the

past, but the new social situation which was creating preferences for a pseudoelite, not that type whose emergency somehow constitutes a natural consequence of a progressive social division of labor, but that type which is basically made up of the new social stratum of 'NEP-men'."*

Reminder

The meaning of the dispute 10 years ago was the following. Some held that the most important thing was that Poland should begin to develop rapidly, which required among other things better payment for more productive labor. Development--we concluded--would provide the material means for the improvement of the situation of those who were worse off. Equalization: yes, but upward.

An opposite tendency argued for equalization downward. Equality, the so-called egalitarians claimed, is more important than the level of the standard of living at which it is achieved. Though they did not deny the significance of economic progress, they asserted the specific feature of socialism should be much more a concern for the just distribution of that which was available than a striving to see that we should have more. The practical matter at issue at the time was to strike a blow against high wages, the so-called "wage chimneys," and also against private initiative; or equalization downward. It was thought that by this operation the existing social discontent would find an outlet. This would have amounted to providing a substitute riverbed for a flow of emotions.

I believe that at the base of this current of thought lay a sincere concern about the lot of people who were known to be worse off. But the interest of the strata in modest material circumstances were poorly understood, for their aspiration was above all the improvement of their standard of living. Apart from this, the "egalitarians" were governed by a lack of faith in the economic competitiveness of socialism.

Obviously I am presenting a simplified picture of these old polemics. Both sides supplied their arguments with numerous "buts."

We know which direction the development of the country took: the more difficult road of economic growth. We busied ourselves with the question, what more can be given to whom and in what manner, rather than with the question, how and from whom can something be taken. This was accompanied by social policies favoring an equalization of peoples' circumstances, such as, health and pension insurance for the rural population, equalization of the labor law for workers and intelligentsia, etc. (I have dealt with advances of this type at greater length in the article "Equality and Privileges," POLITYKA, No 13 [1978].) At the same time, however, the very

*The term is derived from Lenin's New Economic Policy [NEP] of the 1920's and connotes sleaziness and shady business dealings.

logic of the substantial economic acceleration and, even more, the growth difficulties which became evident after several years brought about or strengthened many phenomena that were unfavorable from the point of view of the ideal of justice and equality. Wieslaw Myslek mentions and describes them in his article, though in my opinion he does not always correctly classify and interpret these irregularities.

Manifestations of excessive and unjustified differences in the material and social situation of people can be approached in two ways. On the one hand they might be considered an incidental consequence of accelerated development that requires correction--a correction that is possible, given that, after all, the very tactic of economic growth is now subject to modification. On the other hand it might be thought that these manifestations of wage and nonmonetary privileges lacking any justification and of the pursuit of personal interests--all of which are offensive to socialism--are some of the main results of rapid economic development. This implies questioning the appropriateness of an ambitious policy of rapid growth of the economy and the standard of living, in order to suggest, against the background of the difficulties which we are presently experiencing, equalizing the social situation in a downward direction, as was correctly proposed 10 years ago. Socialism acquires splendor more easily by means of egalitarianism. The social self-esteem will improve when people do not see around them others who live much better than they do. What is it we have gained through accelerated development? A new social stratum of NEP-men.

But let us return to Wieslaw Myslek's article.

Passivity and Initiative

"The threat from the side of private interests is today larger than it was some dozens of years ago..." writes W. Myslek. I am in agreement with this diagnosis of the author, and also with the bulk of his article in which, in an interesting manner, he draws comparisons between the relative ease of battling social injustice during the initial stage of people's Poland--when the exploiting classes were simply abolished by depriving them of the economic tools of exploitation--and the present-day complications. Myslek's arguments in his analysis of the anatomy of the new wealth and the pursuit of private interest are also very interesting. He points out convincingly, for instance, that the people who are oriented in life toward high incomes and possessions exclusively, and who have by contrivance managed to achieve those, do not then form a united social stratum nor do they, as did the bourgeoisie in its days, shape valuable cultural patterns. Many lines of thought in "The Second Offensive" substantially enrich our manner of viewing social phenomena. Numerous observations are precisely to the point. Some of the theses, however, I consider to be fallacious.

Myslek thinks that a new elite stratum has emerged which is composed of private entrepreneurs, the sharks of the amusement industry and workers of

the socialist economy engaged in corruption for their own profit. And even though these people are not linked into a community of any sort, their existence nonetheless--asserts Myslek--creates a legally valid division of society into this elite, who prosper contrary to socialism and at the expense of others, the totality of those who represent the socialist style of life, gain fair incomes from heavy work and link their well-being to the social interest. The battle with this isolated tumor requires a crusade, according to Myslek. For this reason he directs his attack mainly against private enterprise, which he sees as NEP-men and exponents of the pursuit of personal interests, originators of social frustrations and nouveau-riche consumption aspirations.

This picture appears to me simplistic and basically overoptimistic. For I believe that society cannot be divided into a healthy body and a sick outgrowth. Many of the characteristics or postures which Myslek attributed to an isolated elite are typical for a rather broad portion of society. In real life we meet people engaged in heavy, responsible and useful work who at the same time abuse their status for private ends, who garner more than their due. Their social and moral role is much more destructive than are shady dealers from the private business sphere, for it is these very people who set the tone for the behavior of coworkers and subordinates and who also demoralize their superiors, thus producing substantial economic and moral damage. Their behavior tends to become generalized as a model for their environment, and their methods for cultivating private interests at times turn into accepted customs.

Moreover, the "new wealth" obsession, the turning away from social matters towards an accumulation of things treated as the sole purpose of life, is not an attitude which characterizes only people earning high but unjustified incomes. This type of reduction of life goals and thought horizons has become typical also of diligent and useful workers with incomes that are not above the ordinary. And this "new wealth" culture is in this context not necessarily borrowed from people with greater material prosperity. It arises in the wake of production and wage level advances under conditions in which people find in their social environment no life motives and satisfaction patterns outside the acquisition of goods. Under conditions, for instance, where the acquisition of apartment furnishings is the dominant idea of life, it is unhealthy in that it limits all other efforts. The "new wealth" passion also spreads because we are not able to create diversified forms of consumption, alternatives to physical objects. Thus money flows into the market mainly for commodities, and not into the market for experiences (for instance, travel for the sake of acquiring knowledge) where consumption would more naturally be linked to the enrichment of the personality and could tie man into an orientation towards society. The truth is that we have not been able either to think out or to propose in practice a separate model of consumption which to some degree could be called a socialist one and which would be more interesting and rich in choice potential, which would create a more interesting life style. Not one,

at least, such as the "egalitarians" want, which is made up of limitations and based on the prohibitions, repressions and anathematizing those who stand out from grey mediocrity. Individualism and richness of consumption is something quite the opposite of homogeneity and asceticism.

At any rate it is simply not true that the malady which Myslek observes has to be ascribed exclusively to the emanations of an "elite of NEP-men" and that it can be eradicated together with this group. Life styles will become more social as the mechanisms of collective coexistence, self-government and democratism are improved.

In the article "The Second Offensive" there also takes place a mystification of private enterprise as the main carrier of the pursuit of personal interests and of an antisocialist life style. Firstly, it is not only in the villages that private enterprises are ever more closely linked with socialist forms of economic activity: as an example I cite the recent operation of turning small shops into sales agencies [of socialist enterprises]. Secondly, for the sake of justice private enterprise should at the very least be subdivided into the schemers and operators, on the one hand, and the hard-working and law-abiding majority on the other, with the obvious provision that activity "for one's own benefit" rarely has motivations other than blatant profit. The repetition of truisms about overworked craftsmen and useful tomato growers is not as important, however, as it is to draw attention to the deeper, extra-economic aspect of the existence of a private economic sector.

Though private entrepreneurship in general brings a high income, the urge for this form of work is not large in our society. Precisely at the present moment we observe how thousands of workers of the trade sector indicate that they prefer staying behind the counter of the state shop, drawing modest remuneration, to assuming the risk of taking over a small store on an agency basis for the sake of potential high earnings. What is at work here is fear of risk and responsibility, but also implementation regulations which are not encouraging. Activity is an employment situation, which is in conformity with habits and yields a greater feeling of security, appears to people as something more attractive than a possible increase of incomes.

One might say that this lack of mobility indicates the ideological victory of socialism, where work for one's own account ceases to be the ideal and the petit bourgeois standards for a successful life have withered away. However, this socialist personality and orientation, which has the effect that there is hardly anybody who wishes to remain a private shopkeeper, also has its negative sides. Under our circumstances, where people have gained a feeling of social security, they have lost the habit of enterprise and lack a sense of rivalry and an inclination towards risk-taking. After all, work on an agency basis is not only from a monetary point of view more attractive than salaried employment in a store, but also more exciting and autonomous. It brings into daily existence an element of the competitive game and the tensions connected with this, and it produces a less monotonous life.

There exists in present-day Poland the problem of a lack of personal initiative, of readiness for risk-taking and competition in the best sense of this word. These traits are an indispensable condition of healthy and dynamic economic activity and among the determinants of an interesting and active life. The private shopkeepers, who are not without reason designated by the term "private initiative," thus constitute the pikes in our fish pond that are indispensable, not only for purely economic reasons. Obviously, however, what is at issue is initiative that has as its goal the improvement of the general well-being, and not just the personal well-being, or a spirit of enterprise in the public sector of the economy and in social life. Hence the juxtaposition of individualism to a social orientation of people, as Myslek practices it, is dangerous since what the latter requires is precisely individuality.

Again, the question at issue is obviously not so much private [enterprise] initiative, but the fact that without individualistic attitudes and drives society becomes much more passive, homogenized, and less capable of creativity in the spheres of economics, technology, science, the arts and so forth. The private sector itself is of secondary importance in this context.

A Crusade

Myslek proposes a crusade against the new wealth, a second offensive against it, as it were. He demands legal and fiscal interventions, social pressure and reeducation.

Fine-tuned administrative interference generates increased levels of crime, and the only way out is the creation of a rational economic and fiscal system of the type which assures healthy legal incomes and moderates them automatically. There exists a need for the construction of stable and rational earning mechanisms, or else honest initiative will waste away and crime levels in various occupations and the inclination to exploit one's position will rise. Myslek transfers the entire matter from the level of pragmatic regulations which curtail unjustified privileges and dishonest gains to the field of an ideological battle reinforced by various types of repression. He talks about an offensive of private interests and a neo-bourgeois class which requires a counteroffensive against the defenders of "conquered positions and possibilities for the realization of egotistic goals." His desire is for a state of emergency of some kind, considering that the radicalism of prosocialist attitudes will find expression in that.

All campaigns or violent and sudden turns of economic policy against selected groups of the population have destabilizing effects. We know about this best from the example of the 30-year history of policy towards the countryside, which reacts in a very sensitive--and also negative--manner to any sudden and relatively large modification of agricultural policy. This can lead with extraordinary rapidity and ease to the destruction of investment, confidence and trust, and production, whereas repairs take a long time and are difficult.

Nor is it possible by means of campaigns or offensives to strengthen the state as the organizer of social and economic life, to consolidate among people the feeling that a connection exists between their rights and their obligations, or to cultivate a law abiding spirit. All those who act within the law ought to have an unimpaired feeling of security. This must be stabilized. The inspection and control system and the tax and repression mechanisms obviously should aim without ceasing at those who obtain certain advantages at the expense of others, who engage in the pursuit of personal interests, who abuse privileges or who create for themselves privileges without an expression of agreement on the part of the community or without justification. But this should be a mechanism that acts with constancy, continuity and reliability, that constitutes an element of stable relationships, and not a campaign which upsets stability. Hence, in my opinion, if Myslek is right with his assertion that the period of accelerated development has led to an augmentation of wage and other privileges attained at someone else's expense or without sufficient justification, then I hold that such phenomena must be strictly controlled on the basis of the existing and binding laws and regulations. We must calmly and literally invoke the moral and legal rules which exist here and rouse from their slumber the control and correction mechanisms that have become rusty, but not all of a sudden yell out "Here is a stable of Augias" and lead the crowd into it, in order thereafter to look out for the next one. We possess all the legal instruments, control institutions and rules which are necessary for combating irregularities in a steady manner without extraordinary means of any kind.

The last thing that we presently need in domestic politics is crusades, witch hunts, the division of society into attackers and attacked, the riling up of people, ringing but unclear slogans, repressive rectifications of other people's life styles, the destruction of the mood of unity and cooperation, a stirring up of demagoguery and intolerance--in a word, a "second offensive." The so-called second stages or repetitions have in general in the history of People's Poland not come to fruition. I think that, instead of an artificial agitation of the people, what we need is strenuous and wise practical activity, constant and not interfering with stabilization, which aims at the correction of the negative phenomena that have accompanied accelerated development. For it is true that in the fever of impetuous economic growth very often the only question asked was, how much did you achieve, it being thought less important to enquire as to how much you got out of it and whether this was done in a fair and square manner. This needs correction. However, a self-correcting mechanism is one thing, and something quite different again are the offensives, crusades and other kinds of rows for which Myslek proposes to mobilize society.

9108

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INCREASED REPRESSION, SOVIETIZATION SEEN IN FUTURE

Paris KULTURA in Polish No 3, Mar 78 pp 3-13

[Article by Chochol: "Chochol's Forecast"]

[Text] These remarks are devoted to Poland's future, measured in years, that is, the near future. What is involved here is not the most desirable but rather the most likely future. This writer is far from underestimating the importance of all kinds of actions that the country has been witnessing since June 1976. These actions, starting with KOR's [Worker's Defense Committee] inception, signified an end to the entire society's deathly numbness and brought attempts to analyze the country's political situation. That these attempts finally came from Poles residing in the country is in itself a novelty of a high order in the history of People's Poland. Yet the principal premise of these remarks is totally pessimistic, for it is assumed--no matter for what reasons--that concessions to the nation on any issue whatsoever are made, and will be made, by the PRL authorities only under powerful pressure (threat of strikes, the need to salvage the regime's "humanistic facade" in the world so long as the socialist bloc's policies are dominated by "detente," and so on), and that these authorities will seek to nullify each concession as soon as this will appear possible. In other words, I assume that the political game will continue to be played against a basically dishonest opponent who readily lies and gives essentially false promises, and whose ruthless behavior is restrained by nothing but the political expediencies of the moment. Thereby I assume that we are living and will continue to live under a system that is by its very nature incorrigible and unable to fulfill the political and economic aspirations of the nation.

A general similarity of the Gierek phase to the Gomulka phase justifies this grim conclusion. Both phases were patterned alike: the awakening of great expectations in society, a brief period of "small-scale prosperity," and its decline, involving an abrupt upsurge in the authorities' repressive policies. Some indisputable differences between these two phases cannot obliterate their overall similarity, ultimately equivalent to the unfeasibility of projects aiming at a "pacification by consumption" of the Polish nation--a kind of bribery: in exchange for abandoning all political and liberationist aspirations and for obedience and diligent work, the nation was to achieve an appreciable increase in the standard of living. This project proved impossible to achieve.

The reasons why this project failed will not be analyzed extensively in these comments but treated instead as a sort of "God's plague" or, if anybody prefers, as an irremovable feature of the system prevailing over us. We will refrain from analyzing these reasons not because they are unidentified. Just the opposite, we will not discuss them because they have been diagnosed in numberless publications, domestic and foreign, Polish and non-Polish, authored by Soviet, Czechoslovak, East German, and other dissidents. By now, however, we know only too well that Soviet-type authorities are totally deaf to all diagnoses of this kind. They invariably resort to a handy labeling system, a degenerate offshoot of Marxist theory, which serves to "invalidate" all such analyses by branding them as "hostile voices," "libel," "troublemaking," or "slandering socialism." Experts and amateurs alike have a hundred, a thousand times discussed the suicidal aspect of the maniacal insistence on huge industrial investments which in the end have to be cut off to the tune of billions of [zloties] worth of losses to society. Nevertheless, following Gomulka's lead, Gierek now is forced to freeze a similar investment front, the differences being purely in terminology, since Gierek's advisors have come up with the label "economic maneuver" for this situation. Surely this is a maneuver, not a crisis, just as socialist sugar ration-cards are not ration-cards but "commodity coupons." We do not intend, however, to go into debunking primitive tricks of this sort, which assume that the Poles are a nation of morons.

With regard to economic management, the Polish authorities are perhaps even less competent than those in some other KDLs [countries of people's democracy], like Hungary or the GDR. The differences are only in the degree of incompetence and they are inessential. The Polish authorities do not operate, one is entitled to believe, with the intention of deliberate destruction of the country and its resources of and mass demoralization of the population, e.g., they do not give any pay raises to the workers with the idea of taking these raises away as soon as possible. Yet their "noble intentions"--those at least that are economic in nature--are without weight for us, as the only thing that matters are the generally visible results of actual management, and those are nightmarish.

It is equally true that this consecutive--Gierekian--economic crisis hits the Polish economy during a "great crank-up" stage, in mid-swing, as projects are getting under way to continue the country's industrialization and the large scale motorization of the citizens, to develop the road system and transportation, and so on. This crisis comes at a time when consumption-oriented expectations are strongly stimulated, and it hits us at a somewhat higher level of development than in Gomulka's time. This statement, unfortunately, will make nothing easier for us. A higher level of social development in a modern society above all implies more efficient organization and increasingly intricate processes of production and distribution; the lethal effects of a crisis, therefore, are inevitably more ruinous as the productive apparatus of the society undergoing a crisis becomes more complex.

In the near future we should, therefore, expect further disruptions in the production and distribution area. The Draconian or Spartan measures which

the authorities apply now and will apply in the future to salvage the foreign-trade balance plagued by an awesome Western debt of over \$10 billion will produce no significant results improving the country's economic situation. All of these restrictions, especially the curbs on importation of consumer products, will only intensify the state of chaos, corruption, and waste, and they will accelerate society's flight from the domestic currency to "convertible currencies." They will bring back to life, as they already started doing, mechanisms of supply dating back to the Nazi occupation (illegal slaughter of animals and meat trade, illegal commodity turnovers, illegal financial transactions, in short, a "flourishing economic underground"). This will happen because whatever can be scrounged by a restrictive import policy is incommensurate with the depth of the crisis into which People's Poland has barely entered. With Poland's credit in part undermined, in part squandered all over the world, especially in the West, the Polish leaders no longer pay "friendly visits" (of late) in the GDR or Hungary, but they simply run around begging for alms and getting refusals, since the GDR's or Hungary's leaders are either unable or unwilling to tie up their own assets in a venture as uncertain as the Polish economy. Besides, these countries "with the USSR in their lead" have problems and difficulties of their own, though less visible, massive and abrupt than those observed in People's Poland.

Faced with an undersupplied and unsatisfied market, the PRL [Polish People's Republic] authorities are, and will be, increasingly applying the principle of divide et impera in their actions. Since no goods are available in sufficient quantities to be had by all, there will emerge, as indeed there already have emerged, some selective forms of distribution of scarce goods giving privileges to certain social groups, with the security service and citizens militia ranking topmost. Even in the purely economic area, therefore, Poland's image will be increasingly one of a police state, in which the police will no longer be only an obedient executor of government orders, but will become privileged, primarily economically, in order to strengthen its membership in the "club of PRL owners." Even at this time security operatives and militiamen do not have to wait for years for a new apartment or car as regular citizens do. This process will intensify and expand to include many other spheres of economic life. In all likelihood, the services will be included as well.

Supposing that the oncoming, undisguised police terror will not be mounted on a large scale for a while, there will be a surge of "intermediate terror" in the form of economic pressures. Work was supposed to be motivated by the Poles' consumer expectations and their fulfillment (apartments, cars, basic creature comforts, generally accessible higher study, and so on). Yet neither such hopes nor their fulfillment but rather the "negative factors" will constitute work motivations. In other words, it will be necessary to work in order not to be fired from a job and to be servile to the authorities in order to obtain the privileges enjoyed by persons or groups to whom the authorities give preferential treatment. Privileges of this sort are granted to social groups by the PRL authorities because of situational pressures: as a result, the "sausage emergency squad" came to life, with its "kickbacks"

of sausage or meat to locations where the threat of strikes emerges, which is most serious in the large factories. Other necessities are likely to be included in the "commodity pool" designated for the privileged, and it will be of no importance whether a "privilege" is obtained from the authorities under a sudden and short-lived pressure (the prospect of a strike) or under the constraints of a persistent situation (as is the case with a suppressive police machine whose privileged status the authorities will be unable to reduce in any way). In a certain sense, therefore, we should expect a "symbiosis" of the repressive apparatus of the police with the PRL party apparatus to develop along the lines of the Soviet symbiosis between the military command and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The partners (the army in one case, the police in the other) are different because the Soviet Union is oriented toward an imperial goal which Poland, as a satellite, obviously cannot have on her own. Whereas the Soviet authorities' principal mission is to strive toward achievement of military supremacy over their antagonists in the capitalist world, Poland's authorities will simply regard holding society in check as their chief task. In the years to come, the equation in which economic deterioration calls for increases in the police force--appropriately compensated, equipped and pampered--is bound to come to the fore more forcibly and openly.

"Militia family background" can be a perfect replacement for the former advantages of "worker family background." There is reason to believe that this situation will be largely glossed over by propaganda, as the authorities cannot officially deviate from Marxist doctrine, which alone lends them legitimacy and this doctrine does not foresee a dictatorship of the police over proletarians. It should be emphasized that the accumulation of privileges in the machine for control and repression will not constitute a mere rollback to Stalinism. Among Stalinism's principal features was the self-destruction of the ruling apparatus and the machinery of repression (Nobody could be sure, whether in the party top or the NKVD, that the next wave of mass repressions would not engulf him as well), whereas for the Polish rulers perpetuation of the guarantees endowing them and their supporters with an existential certainty is one of the most important issues.

The forms and mode of operation of the repressive machinery will depend on the main guidelines of Soviet policy, in particular, on whether detente is continued as an arbitrary variant of cooperation with the West or finds its total demise as a scheme intended to "strengthen the coalition of progress and peace." In the first case, the forms in which terror will present itself to view will continue to be "gangster-like:" attempts will probably be made to engineer, "unfortunate accidents" befalling dissident persons, secret assaults, slander, penetration of communities feared and chosen for disruption by the authorities, provocation, and the like. In the second case, terror may become by far more direct, and the fig-leaf of propaganda masking it will dwindle to a speck.

Externally imposed distinctions will appear in the area of broadly defined production. Attempts to maintain top-quality production will be focused on industries manufacturing export-designated goods, which will receive all

needed, i.e., indispensable, imported items (licenses, raw materials, products). The domestic market will keep losing importance, and it will be increasingly supplied with worthless stuff and surrogates. All "expendable" investment projects will be abandoned, and these include, among others, the salvaging and protection of the natural environment, which require costly measures but provide the state with no immediate regular income. The authorities likewise will quietly back out of the announced undertakings that promised substantial gains in living comforts (expansion of the automobile support base, the health service, and the like). In brief, the expected cuts will be most acutely felt by all underprivileged citizens of the PRL.

Ecological deterioration (environmental pollution has already exceeded all norms and standards in many regions of the country) coupled with the mounting underinvestment in health service (curtailment of medical imports, medical equipment, etc.) will by the end of the 1980's more and more noticeably affect the general health of the population and shorten life expectancy, although the all-pervasive falsehood in statistics of all sorts can rather successfully mask such trends for a long time, so that rumors to this effect will be unverifiable.

The above trend, manifested as a series of "deteriorations," will ultimately adversely affect the preferentially treated industrial sectors turning out export products. It is not enough simply to maintain a good quality of production once it is attained. Innovation is an ongoing process on a world scale. At the same time, the competitive value of Polish-made export-designated articles will diminish as they are processed in our country; in effect, Poland will be under pressure to remain an exporter of energy, raw materials, and semi-processed materials. The authorities will, of course, try to resist this pressure, but their freedom of "maneuver" in this field will be constrained by the situation on world markets. It is equally possible that a desperate and massive "sale of PRL" campaign will be mounted to seek substitute markets for low quality products "kidnapped" from the domestic market, which can result in unexpected shortages in the supply of all goods. Such moves will never be announced in advance and they are not likely to be justified at all, either by truths or falsehoods, in the mass media.

The decline of motivation in professional work will worsen the overall situation of society. Alcoholism, waste, hoarding, rapid turnover of the work force, corruption, fictitious fulfillment of production plans dictated from above, poor quality of all kinds of products, increasingly dishonest treatment of the regular customer by producers and providers of services will all be intensified. This can lead to more extensive revitalization of illegal activities copying the Nazi-occupation practices. The authorities' noble intentions in the area of rebuilding the crafts will be so severely curtailed by the lack of material resources for craftsman that their slow demise should be expected.

One cannot exclude the possibility of short-lived and poorly planned economic experiments by the authorities, as well as manipulations with fiscal and tax-

related legislation (the problem of foreign currencies!), which will tend to alarm society rather than awaken hopes for economic improvement. If this is still at all possible, every word of the authorities' public announcements will be believed even less than now.

Culture, invariably ill-treated in this regime, will finally reach its nadir. It is understood here as the totality of primary and higher education, the production of books and periodicals of all kinds, films and any other type of artistic creation. The naive concept, advanced perhaps with decent intentions by many party activists several years ago, according to which the 1980's were supposed to be a period of the flourishing of culture and emphasis on culture (since the question of satisfying society's physical needs was expected to lose its urgency by that time), will come true exactly in reverse. Educational and cultural matters will be viewed by the authorities as less and less important. Even at this time, the fictitious stature of Polish science and the paltriness of nearly all of the scientific cadre from the Polish Academy of Sciences down to the Main Technical Organization is completely obvious to any person familiar with the world situation in science. The phenomenon of pseudo-discoveries, pseudo-successes in science and technology, pseudo-improvements, inventions, and the like, will dominate. True to life scientists will have an increasingly narrower field in which to operate in the PRL. The propaganda replacing education in primary and secondary schools will become more primitive and strident. Mandatory participation in this school for falsehood will be all-inclusive and permanent.

The political system under which we live reacts irrationally, "magically" as it were, to all of its functional, economic, social, and political convulsions. It is possible that the PRL rulers will continue to visit and receive various monarchs, since they will resort to any trick as long as it appears to add to their prestige and importance. Inferior books, films, school textbooks, and theatrical performances will come in increasing quantities, and the last bits of authenticity will survive only in the enclaves of sports and circus-type mass entertainment. It is not accidental that this kind of entertainment is favored in the Soviet Union, since it is the culmination of thoughtlessness.

The demoralization of the press community and other similar communities (mass dissemination of culture) will progress. Communities of this kind will become more thoroughly prostituted, with concurrent "pauperization," because none of their members will be motivated by convictions of belief in the merits of the cause. They will be accorded only minimal privileges, since the authorities are well aware that these communities are bound to be diligent collaborationists, because they have no other way out. Censorship, focused on the matters of today and today only, with no memories of the past and no expectation of tomorrow, will grow, leading to more absurdities in this area.

A separate scrutiny is needed with regard to the fate of that preserve of national culture represented by "underground" activities (illegal educational circles, discussion groups, "samizdat" self-publishing of occasional or periodical materials, political programs and manifestos, illegal artistic

performances, and the like). Sooner or later, the authorities probably will launch a "counterattack" against this newly emerged sphere of social activity, perhaps one initiated by a provocation or forgery designed to sow internal discord at the very source of this activity. Even assuming that the authorities were willing (which is doubtful) to tolerate independent sources of information, they would be unable to do so over a longer period of time. This is because the type of a press reporter, commentator, or theoretician who is a "cold rascal," insensitive to any factual counterarguments and 100 percent cynical, has not become "appropriately" widespread in Poland, despite everything. The situation in which every bit of propaganda falsehood can be immediately noticed, exposed and nailed is, therefore, extremely uncomfortable for the regime's press, radio and television workers. These purely practical considerations will also urge the authorities to launch a "counterattack." The present relative passivity of the militia and security force in this area is not due to their liberal leniency but is a tactical move, taken over from their counterparts in the Soviet Union (whose glorious tradition dates back even to the czarist Okhrana). By permitting the proliferation of illegal periodicals and publications, the authorities help to bring about their disclosure, since the production and distribution of such texts, as well as the organization of illegal meetings and sessions, are conducted with diminishing efforts to protect their secrecy as the organs of prosecution become more tolerant. At the same time, this state of affairs facilitates infiltration of the sources of such activities, through recruitment of informers and the planting of provocateurs. In any event, the quiet spell in this area is foreboding, in my opinion. Ultimately, things may develop along Soviet lines, so that the liquidation of this activity will be conditioned by its genuine "harmfulness" from the point of view of the authorities, of course. Any voice with a tinge of authoritarianism and nationalism or with totalitarian leanings of the "dissidents" and "heretics" who desire to reform the republic in the spirit of democracy or, God forbid, socialism.

All we have said so far indicates, therefore, that Poland's internal developments will follow the Soviet pattern. Contrary to the appearances, and contrary to the primitive version of capitalism propagandized in the Soviet sphere, the modern capitalist countries are democracies also because of the fact that ownership is the only factor creating distinctions between people. In a Soviet-type regime, on the other hand, money plays a subsidiary role to the class, caste, or social group to which an individual belongs. Depending on his accomplishments or transgressions, he can be placed in one of a number of privileged or persecuted categories. Once money is not enough to acquire some goods (e.g., a car) and additional connections, allotments, and the like are needed, extensive possibilities appear for "feudalizing" the entire social structure. Furthermore, social status becomes differentiated within the privileged groups themselves, depending upon whether a given profession is totally dependent on the good will of the ruler (as with journalism) or is a power in relation to it, because it is its supporter for partially autonomous reasons, or is its "armed hand," like the security force and militia.

Those who create and foster the national culture are denoted in the social hierarchy because their role in the processes of production (export!) is scant or inexistent. The same is true with regard to health service, despite its contribution to regenerating manpower. According to the Soviet model,

however, a person who does not in some slight extent participate in the exercise of political power cannot belong to the first category of citizens (except as a seasonal puppet like Stakhanov or some super-heroic milkmaid). For the Soviet-type authorities the ideal situation is one in which the total value of an individual or a group depends on a ruling of the authorities, so that a person becomes a poet, director, minister, CC member, philosopher, inventor, genius or traitor by appointment and functions in this capacity only as long as this appointment remains in force. Anyone from whom the party has removed its anointing hands should vanish as if he never existed. This is why authorities are extremely uncomfortable in dealing with individuals possessing some external, nonparty, nongovernmental, "foreign" endorsements of their value (as professionals, outstanding individuals, priests, etc.). The authorities are forced, however, to reckon with this unpleasantness as long as "detente" continues, but any autonomous value of the individual has always been a thorn in their side. Of course, this conduct evinces the extreme, irrational antipragmatism of the Soviet model of authority.

Opportunists, careerists, and other rascals who climb up over dead bodies take advantage of favorable circumstances (March 1968) to oust genuine organizers, physicians, scientists, writers and designers. They replace authentic professionals to the profound detriment to the national economy, human life, health, the quality and reputation of Polish science, culture, and other fields. This is precisely a manifestation of the regime's curse--its notorious "negative selection" system. Yet the regime cannot work miracles and turn its cherished "totally subservient" scoundrels into gifted specialists as a reward for their eager opportunism.

The pervasive falsity of the Soviet type authority is supremely revealed in their being well-informed about the advancing paralysis affecting all parts of the social organism in which high qualifications are indispensable for the healthy functioning of the whole: when the leaders themselves suffer from a disease, they do not call on doctors who received diplomas for their trusty services to the party, but bring in genuine medical professors, preferably from a capitalist country. This phenomenon is of utmost importance for an examination of the nature of the Soviet model, as it refutes the conjecture that the authorities themselves are unaware of what they are causing by applying the principle of negative selection. They are perfectly cognizant of it, at least on the "higher levels." They have chosen this course because they prefer to use the total method of rendering people dependent and thus holding unlimited power over them, rather than taking the risk of establishing professional groups which could perhaps find support beyond the sphere of this power. Only a "genuine professor" will sign a letter protesting abuses of power, while a professor by appointment--which is equivalent to feudal grants of a title and fief--will never be in a position to behave in such a rebellious manner. In effect, what is seen from the point of view of the national interests as irrationality by the authorities and as action detrimental to society is a political advantage from the viewpoint of the authorities themselves.

The situation of the Church in Poland in the next few years cannot be predicted at this time. It depends to a much greater extent on the political

course of the Soviet Union than on any decisions, changes, or lack thereof within the team of functionaries now ruling Poland. It can be assumed that as long as the "spirit of Helsinki" has not let out its last breath, the Church in Poland will not be threatened by a disaster, although its existence will certainly be difficult.

On the other hand, it is clear that the internal assimilation of Poland's social structure to that of the Soviet Union will be accompanied by Poland's growing dependence on the Soviet Union. The Kremlin's ideal status quo presupposes an internally weak and thoroughly pacified Poland, as the Kremlin has always feared some unpredictable Polish moves. In particular, the Kremlin regards the factional dissension within the PZPR with some gratification, provided that no single faction has a chance to win over all the others, auguring a social and political stabilization of any kind approved by the nation. Whatever has been said by various anti-Communist commentators on the Soviet-PRL relations, particularly the supposition that Russia wishes to have a strong ally in Poland, is a total misunderstanding in my opinion. Russia's only desire is not to bear any costs of "Polish imbroglios." She simply does not want to be involved in providing assistance to Poland, whether economic or political--riding the tanks. That last nightmare cannot, however, be excluded from considerations of the future. In particular, I believe there is some potential for provocations, perhaps staged in the course of PSPR infighting, which would be aimed at compromising the current rulers by instigating anti-PRL terrorist actions.... And such acts cannot be excluded, since for the individuals in question each and every bloody measure can be good as a trump card in the fight for power, that is, for the position of the Soviet's loyal supervisors of the Poles.

8795

CSO: 2600

MILITARY REPAIR-PRODUCTION OPERATIONS ASSESSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 May 78 p 3

[Interview with Brig Gen Mieczyslaw Bronowiecki, Chief of Military Repair-Production Enterprises, Deputy Chief Engineering Inspector for Military Enterprises]

[Text] ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: What achievements have the military repair-production enterprises reported to the Central Conference on Rational Management of the Armed Forces?

General Bronowiecki: Further significant progress has been made in the areas of organization, economics and finances, and manufacturing-production. Following an analysis of the organizational structures of enterprises, within the scope of "Government-Sponsored Cost Saving Programs," the permanent administrative office staff was reduced and the job structure appreciably streamlined as a result. Some military repair-production enterprises have improved their job flexibility index. This problem is further studied intensively, which involves a great deal of diverse activities.

The enterprises have further improved their job organization and the utilization of their capacity. It suffices to mention that the production goals set for 1977 had been exceeded with less than full employment. The entire increase in output had been attained as a result of higher efficiency, namely 4.4 percent above the planned level.

Military repair-production enterprises, just as our entire industry, are enthralled by the broad concept of engineering progress. The personnel of these enterprises was emphasizing, especially during the last year, a better utilization of equipment for mechanization of laborious, difficult, and unhealthy operations in the maintenance and repair process as well as of diagnostic and inspection-measurement apparatus. Military enterprises engaged in the repair of equipment which is property of the armed forces are now specializing and also coordinating their efforts with the general trends in the national economy as well as with the efforts of repair-production enterprises in allied countries.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: By what parameters does one measure repaired weapons and equipment against new ones? On what achievements can the enterprises pride themselves?

General Bronowiecki: Restoration of repaired weapons and technical equipment to their full worth, i.e., duplication of their technical performance parameters according to applicable engineering requirements is the basic criterion for any overhaul carried out in a repair shop. It must be emphasized here that the requirements with regard to quality of repair are not lower than those which new products must meet. Striving for high quality within complex patterns of weaponry and technical equipment must be accompanied by upgrading the qualifications of personnel and the equipment of workshops as well as by improving repair process organization and quality control. An important achievement of our enterprises is that weapons are modernized at the time of their overhaul. Their technical and tactical performance indexes can thus be raised at only a rather little higher cost. A good example here are antiaircraft missile systems, which after modernization during repair become much better in terms of true performance parameters such as effectiveness of target hitting at low ceilings and immunity to interference. Similar modernization of tanks improves their combatworthiness.

During repair of radar and communication equipment one always, wherever possible, replaces electronic components and circuits of older types by their latest equivalents with better performance characteristics and reliability. Combining repair with modernization, application of new technologies, and repair work of high quality ensure excellent performance of the repaired equipment, which is particularly important in a military environment. These factors also contribute to tremendous cost savings and thus relieve the national budget of expenditures on new better equipment.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: Does the supporting repair personnel benefit from the experience of other countries?

General Bronowiecki: In recent years we have entered into a broad and positive cooperation with repair shops in other socialist countries, through the appropriate service branches and institutions set up by friendly armies. With the experience and the assistance of those respective countries, especially in mobilizing for the repair of complex equipment, our enterprises are able to meet their goals with an optimum investment of effort and funds. Both countries benefit from the cooperation between enterprises with similar production profiles in such areas as:

- exchange of experience in new repair and restoration technologies;
- specialization and cooperation in development and manufacture of inspection-measurement apparatus and interchangeable parts;
- exchange of information about changes instituted in design and manufacturing documentation as well as of information about equipment modernization and standardization;

--exchange of experience in management.

In this way, cooperation between Warsaw Pact countries flourishes and brings advantages to both sides.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: How is implementation of the current plan coming along?

General Bronowiecki: The production goals for 1977 in accordance with the long-term plan had been exceeded by a substantial margin, as a result of improved economic conditions. Also the goals of this year's first quarter were exceeded. This portends well for the remainder of the year and the following years. These achievements are attributable, in part, to the implementation of programs aimed at seeking out and tapping reserve industrial capacity for military repair-production enterprises. Reaching of diverse goals was facilitated by a proper sociopolitical climate, recruitment of personnel, and cooperative efforts toward meeting a target.

One of the principal goals of present economic activity in this country is a further productive increase in the social effectiveness of economic management. A guarantee for reaching this goal, as well as other goals based on the socioeconomic plan for 1978, is high employment in military enterprises.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: Along what lines are the Headquarters of Military Repair-Production Enterprises concentrating their activities in 1978?

General Bronowiecki: At the last Central Conference on Rational Management and at the conference of military repair-production enterprises with the participation of representatives from armed services as well as from military districts there was a great deal of evidence presented indicating the availability of still more reserve production capacity which, when properly managed, will increase output at no additional cost. The fast increasing technical complexity of weapons and military equipment, as manifested in the increasingly prevailing trend to system solutions, a trend which necessitates composite repair work on individual assemblies and aggregates originating from various industries (electronic, hydraulic, automation, etc.), requires a steady improvement of the supporting repair service for the armed forces. In view of this, we will now and during the next few years concentrate on the following activities:

--full implementation of cost-saving management programs in military enterprises, according to the decision made by the Council of Ministers;

--development and modernization of those components of the production force at military repair-production enterprises which ensure that the needs of the armed forces will be met as far as repair of "advanced" weapons and technical equipment of highest engineering and technological complexity is concerned;

--further specialization and extension of cooperative efforts in this country as well as with other socialist countries, as one essential source of repair cost reduction;

--introduction of substitute repair-production processes, to a larger extent than before, in applying the principles of "value analysis" and in cooperating with various institutes;

--further expansion in restoring and producing interchangeable parts, assemblies, and aggregates;

--systematic improvement of the social environment for personnel, establishment of a widely understood work culture and esthetic concepts, and creation of an environment to which young personnel can more easily adapt.

All these activities are closely related to the requisites for rational management, a concept which has gained high priority in the armed forces and thus also in military enterprises.

2415

CSO: 2600

CHEMICAL TROOPS' ROLE, IMPROVEMENT DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3-4 Jun 78 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Brig Gen Dr Eng Czeslaw Krzyszowski, Chief, Chemical Troops by Lt Col Waldemar Makowiecki: "Military Chemists in the Service of Defense"]

[Text] The first Sunday of June every year is celebrated in our country as "Chemists' Day." Along with a large throng of workers, engineers, scientific workers and teachers employed in various divisions of production and science in the Ministry of Chemistry, an industry decisive in modernizing the entire national economy, chemists in uniform, the soldiers of the chemical forces, celebrate their holiday. This is particularly an opportunity to present their accomplishments in the service of national defense and society.

We asked the Chief of the Chemical Troops, Brig Gen Dr Eng Czeslaw Krzyszowski, for an interview on this subject.

[Question] This year the chemical troops, along with the entire Polish People's Army, are celebrating the 35th year of their existence. During this time a great many essential changes have taken place. Will you please acquaint our readers with the most essential tasks of the chemical troops?

[Answer] Let us begin with a memory. World War II was followed by the tempestuous development of weapons of mass destruction: nuclear, chemical and biological, and by new incendiary agents. New kinds of threats to troops and to the populace arose through methods of high toxicity over broad areas. This increases requirements in relation to defense against contamination, methods of training soldiers and quality of equipment.

Among the tasks of modern chemical troops is extensive preparation for chemical protection, one of the main elements of protection for military

maneuvers. It also includes such undertakings in the area of defense against weapons of mass destruction as: detection of nuclear explosions and determining their parameters, predicting losses, contamination, destruction and fires, identification of contamination, the use of individual and collective methods of defense, assurance of control over troop irradiation and special and sanitary measures. Likewise within the area of duties of military chemists are the use of flamethrowers, laying down smoke screens, and materiel and technological supplies of equipment and of chemical materials for the troops.

The final years of this decade have been characterized by the introduction of new types of equipment and methods, mainly developed within our country, with modern structural and technological solutions and considerably increasing the effectiveness of troop activity. In developing them and in improving methods of organizing general defense, individual and collective, against contamination, and in supplying the chemical forces with new equipment, it was necessary to solve many basic problems of immediate usefulness, based on the achievements of various fields of science, thanks to which the system of defense against methods of mass destruction could become dependable.

The "Resolution of the Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee Referring to the Celebration of the 35th Year Since the Formation of the Polish People's Army" also obliges us to further improve our activity. This resolution, emphasizing the consistent activities of the nations of the socialist community in favor of irreversibility in the progress of detente in the international situation and the military sphere embraced by them, confronts the raw realities of the situation: the armament race forced by the imperialistic NATO states, and enrichment of military arsenals with newer and newer types of weapons of mass extermination, such as the neutron bomb in recent times.

The military threat on the part of the imperialists has not weakened for even a moment. One confirmation of this is the fact that the peaceful declarations of the NATO states are simultaneously accompanied by a systematic increase in expenses for armaments. Under the existing conditions we must also make adequate defensive efforts, especially when they are involved with counteracting the horrible weapon of toxic agents. Some western states do not respect the generally recognized Geneva protocol. Supplies of this genocidal weapon are still threatening, and research is continuing. At a time of great technological progress, it is not difficult to proceed with the production of peaceful chemical agents, defoliants and herbicides, for warfare.

A new type of gas mask, the MP-4, with considerably improved defensive and use parameters has been developed in the area of general defense for individual soldiers. Military vehicles have been equipped with autonomic, automated systems of collective defense of troops against contamination.

Dosimetric apparatus has become universal, thanks to the introduction of multifunctional, miniaturized x-ray radiometers based on semiconductor techniques. Military automobiles and vehicles have been equipped with x-ray meters giving an alarm in case of contamination. Considerable progress has been noted in the field of detection of chemical and radiation contamination in the air. New high-efficiency installations guarantee that special measures will be taken by heavy equipment under every condition.

The current status of preparation of the cadre and scientific base makes it possible to delineate more and more complex tasks in the field of technical progress, guaranteeing an increase in the efficiency of the military forces.

[Question] The continuing celebration of the 35th anniversary of the formation of the Polish People's Army is an opportunity favoring systematic improvement in the readiness of the military forces, the development and introduction of creative initiative, further improvement in the process of training and education, and scientific research work. What interesting undertakings can the chemical troops give evidence of?

[Answer] Improvement in skill in the area of chemical safety should be regarded on two levels: training of all kinds of troops and preparing chemical subdivisions to perform special tasks. We place a great deal of importance on mastering and practicing the chemical safety system at the subdivision-division level, on the effective use of chemical training and exercises on napalm courses, and keeping the chemical teams in "chemical condition."

We initiated training 2 years ago for infantry and tank subunits on tactical-level napalm zones, which played a positive role in preparing troops for the broad use of incendiary agents in tactical exercises. Now, making use of the experience garnered, we have developed a concept for intensifying training in this area.

In practice this means incorporating into the exercises tactical and specialized tactical types of troops as an integral element of military activity, problems in overcoming fire zones and terrain contamination. This should make it possible for the soldiers in the exercises to improve the skills they have in this field, as well as to raise their psycho-physical condition.

At the same time an intensification of training is anticipated in higher officer training schools and training centers in the field of chemical defense of military operations by incorporating these problems into tactical and specialized tactical training. Here a leading role is assigned to the Higher Chemical Troop Officers School.

Other undertakings aimed at raising the level of specialized tactical, special and general military training, at stimulating individual and team training ambitions of competition for the best results and the most efficient performance of specialized tasks, inspection of the preparation

of leaders and subunits to perform on a modern field of battle are the tactical-technical competitions organized every 2 years among the chemical troops.

The area of troop training in using smoke on the field of battle has also been enlarged. In addition to masking the operation of troops and installations, their use can interfere with enemy reconnaissance carried out through the use of various kinds of equipment operating with laser, television and night-vision technology. The smoke generators adopted for the troops and the system of remote control of smoke screens make it possible for us to use smoke to camouflage activities of a tactical and operational significance.

We assume that accomplishment of the above undertaking will help in the further preparation of troops for activity in fire and contamination zones and in the wide use of smoke and incendiary agents.

[Question] The recent Conference on the Rational Administration of the Armed Forces devoted a great deal of attention to the economic use of the potential possessed, to further rational economies in equipment, and to the detection and implementation of material reserves. What steps have been taken in this connection?

[Answer] In addition to improving the process of troop training, material economy and problems of use and repair are directions which are constantly in the center of interest. A problem exerting considerable influence on the use of equipment, and especially of equipment recently introduced into troop materiel is the planned execution of supervision over its introduction. A no less essential role in the proper use of equipment is played by practical training of its users, as well as of persons responsible for supervision over its use. Every year many courses are organized with different programs adjusted to the needs of concrete training groups, including the repair area.

Associated with this is the idea of definite undertakings assuring a steady increase in the everyday useful skill of users and the development of careful habits with the equipment entrusted to them, namely in reference to the group of individual protective apparatus. Each soldier should treat his gas mask as personal armament, something which is to aid him in performing his duty.

Systematic technical services, performed on a high level, play a very important role in equipment maintenance, and this includes full and timely service every day, as well as on "technical days."

Tasks involving improvement in packing economy are favorably implemented. As a matter of fact, instead of wooden containers which were formerly predominant in turnovers of chemical equipment, cardboard containers are

being successfully introduced. In just the past year alone several thousand containers of the old type were done away with, thus saving considerable amounts of wood.

Let me give another example. Having in mind an increase in the service life of commonly used equipment for individual protection against contamination, an exercise fund has been set up in units and subunits for equipment of category V. This makes very reasonable use of this group of equipment possible in the training process, and at the same time gains an extension in the service life of this equipment of standard value.

We treat matters of developing a careful relationship to chemical equipment as elements of activity in carrying out the program of strengthening discipline and the development of high standards in the armed forces.

[Question] For some time a lively discussion has been going on throughout the country in scientific centers and factories on the subjects at the 12th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee regarding science tackling the key problems dictated by the current and perspective needs of the country. In the army this not only refers to a concentration of efforts on definite operational and tactical problems, but also technological problems. In which direction are efforts going?

[Answer] In solving the complex scientific and productive tasks resulting from the duties of the chemical troops, a particularly essential role is played by close cooperation between military and civil scientific research agencies. We cooperate with the General Staff Academy of the WP [Polish Army], the Military Technical Academy, the Officers' Advanced Training Center, the Military Institute for Chemistry and Radiometry and ministry institutes.

Developmental concepts have been developed as a result of this work. Such studies as instruction and manuals treating troop activity and defense against weapons of mass destruction have also come into being. Others refer to new studies, modernization and improvement in the means and equipment which we possess.

The chemical troops skillfully combine specialized training with activity for the national economy. Both the current state of research and developmental tendencies in the field of defense against chemical and radiation contamination remain in close contact with activities in the area of defense of the environment. Research is carried on jointly with ministry institutes on the diffusion of harmful substances in the air and on prognoses of results of wear on containers and equipment with substances harmful for man and the environment.

Subunits of the chemical troops have given and are giving great service to the country by eliminating supplies of poisonous warfare agents, a heritage of World War II, and actively participate in eliminating plant

pests, examining polluted sections of rivers, and in case of need by preventing or diminishing the results of wear, dangerous conditions and so on.

It is also worthwhile to add to this that today we are monopolists in the area of destroying poisonous industrial waste, mainly dangerous cyanic salts. In many cases it has turned out that abilities acquired during training make real service possible for the needs of the national economy.

The scientific workers and the chemical troops also take an active part in the work of many scientific committees and critical commissions both in military and civil institutions. They have also participated in writing the well-known report of the UN secretary general on the effects caused by chemical and biological weapon activity.

In the perspective handling of scientific research and of production problems, it is worthwhile to particularly stress the great importance of partnership cooperation and exchange of experience with military and civil chemists in the armies of the states of the socialist community, particularly the Soviet Army.

The resolution of the Seventh Congress and the decisions of the Second PZPR National Conference, the decrees of the minister of National Defense and the guidelines of the Main School Inspectorate, which we reshape in the form of the concrete and material results of our service and work are beacons in the fulfillment of all of the enterprises undertaken. This is also the contribution of our soldiers in strengthening the forces and defensive readiness of our fatherland, as well as an answer to the Kosciuszko appeal for commemoration of 35 years of the Polish People's Army.

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MANESCU ADDRESSES UN DISARMAMENT SESSION

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Jun 78 p 5 AU

[Text of address by Romanian Prime Minister Manea Manescu at 8 June UN Special Disarmament Session in New York]

[Text] AGERPRES special envoy reported from the United Nations that the general discussions of the UN Special Session on Disarmament continued on Thursday [8 June].

At the meeting, the prime minister of the Romanian Government, Manea Manescu, presented--upon the authority of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--our country's position on disarmament matters and a set of tangible proposals to contribute in a substantial manner to the fruitful progress of the session and to opening up new prospects in this field, in keeping with the interests and aspirations for peace of all peoples. Romania's position and proposals were received with keen interest.

Mr President, I have the pleasant mission to extend friendly greetings to you and the representatives of the UN member-states on behalf of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu. Expressing the aspirations of all Romanian people, which are common with those of all peace-loving people, and showing particular concern for mankind's destiny, President Nicolae Ceausescu pays great attention to the General Assembly Special Session, the first session in UN history devoted solely to disarmament.

Upon the authority of Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, I have the honor to extend wishes for success to the session which is designed to open up constructive and fruitful prospects in the field of disarmament, to bring about a concrete step forward in achieving this vital goal of all mankind.

The achievement of disarmament is a constant goal of socialist Romania's foreign policy. The achievement of a world without weapons and wars is the

focus of President Nicolae Ceausescu's sociopolitical thinking and action; it is the basic goal of his intensive and remarkable activity at an international level.

In his speech before the jubilee UN General Assembly session 8 years ago, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, stated: "We believe that it is imperative for the United Nations to see that all states take most determined action to achieve general and primarily nuclear disarmament. The United Nations, the leaders of all states, and all politicians have a great responsibility toward the peoples, the future of human civilization and toward freeing the world from the burden of the arms race and the nightmare of a nuclear war."

As a practical expression of these constant concerns and orientations and upon President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative, a document was presented before the United Nations in 1975 on "Romania's Position on Disarmament Matters, Primarily Nuclear Disarmament, and on Establishing a Lasting Peace in the World." This document covered a set of concrete and realistic measures aimed at disarmament. In this document, Romania advocated from the very beginning a UN General Assembly session devoted especially to disarmament in the belief that it is legitimate and necessary for the most comprehensive forum of the nations to discuss the most stringent and acute problem of international life directly. We attach great importance to the consensus the nonaligned countries' initiative enjoyed regarding the convening of this special session.

The special attention and interest of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the session have been expressed in a special resolution issued by the RCP Central Committee which incorporates a set of tangible proposals designed to establish principled guidelines and to permit the transition to effective disarmament measures. The Romanian people, as well as all peoples throughout the world, express their hope that on the basis of efforts made by all participants a comprehensive document will be finally agreed upon that will incorporate generally acceptable measures, in keeping with the major target--the achievement of general and, primarily, on nuclear disarmament.

Socialist Romania's adherence to the cause of disarmament is a result of the very nature of its social system, it is a result of the basic goals of its activity at an international level, in building a new society, implementing comprehensive socioeconomic development programs. The Romanian people are vitally interested in establishing favorable international conditions for these truly peaceful works and in a climate of security and cooperation. Our concept on life expresses most clearly the Romanian people's ideals to live in world without weapons, without wars, in a world of peace and friendship among all nations.

In conformity with these targets, Romania is deepening its relations of friendship and multilateral cooperation with all the socialist countries. It is intensifying its relations at various levels with the developing countries, with the nonaligned countries and expanding its cooperation with

the capitalist countries and with all world states, irrespective of social system, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. Romania is actively participating in the international division of labor and in the world exchange of material and cultural values.

The Socialist Republic of Romania consistently bases its relations with the other states and its entire foreign policy on the principles of fully equal rights, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage and on the respect for territorial integrity, the nonrecourse to the use or threat of force and the assertion of each people's sacred and inalienable right to develop independently, in keeping with its own desire and aspirations. In Romania's opinion, the promotion and observance of these principles, which are ever more forcefully asserting themselves in the world arena, are a sine qua non for new relations of trust and peaceful cooperation among all world nations.

Certainly, great social and national changes are taking place in the international arena, as well as deep going changes favoring peace and progress. One of the characteristics of the current international life is the ever more forceful assertion of the people's will to stop the old imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy of domination and diktat and to insure and consolidate their national independence and sovereignty, to become masters of their destinies and resources and to develop freely and cooperate in conditions of security. The forces advocating a new democratic international policy of equality and mutual respect among states are increasing. As a result, in the past years a trend toward detente and cooperation has been noted, though still limited and fragile.

At the same time, we can note an intensification of the policy of redividing the world into spheres of influence and domination, a fact that brings about a sharpening of certain negative phenomena in international life. Economic, political, social and national contradictions and economic chasms between states are deepening and the raw material and energy crisis, the monetary and financial crisis and inflation become ever more acute, generating tension and instability at an international level.

We can note with concern that the international situation has recently worsened. New areas of conflict have emerged. The flames of local war have taken hold, a recourse to political and economic pressure on other states has been noted, and the practice of military interference has experienced a renewal. The problems which have been left unsolved by the long colonial domination and disputes of a territorial or national nature are used to increase mistrust and aggravate relations among states; they are used for interference and the outbreak of armed confrontations.

These developments, which are serious dangers for mankind's destiny, include the danger of a new world war and are signs of the old imperialist policy of force and diktat and domination rejected by the people. The rivalry between states and military groups, the strategy of redividing the world and its attributes of political, military and economic interference create serious dangers for the people's security. They pollute

the political climate of all international life. Arms are used as instruments to perpetuate interstate relations based on the "right to force" instead of building a world in which the "force of law" prevails and in which the principles of international equity and law assert themselves in keeping with the ardent aspirations of peace and justice, progress and freedom of all mankind.

It is very clear that in order to build a world without arms and wars, to advance on the road of disarmament we must stop the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy, the spheres of influence and domination and each nation's right to develop freely and to reorganize its life in keeping with its own aspirations must be respected.

We believe that the problems confronting mankind today require the participation in international life of all countries and primarily the participation of small and medium-sized countries, of developing and nonaligned countries that are directly interested in abolishing the imperialist policy and in respecting each people's national independence and sovereignty.

To insure and strengthen peace, of great importance is the final elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and neocolonialism, the abolishment of the racist policy and of apartheid, the liberation of the peoples in Rhodesia and Namibia and of the majority population in South Africa, the self-determination and independent development of the peoples in these countries, as in fact of all world peoples.

At the same time, proceeding from the realities of international life, the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania expresses its conviction that to create real disarmament conditions one must do all one can, one must take immediate action, with greater determination and energy, to resolve all existing conflicts by political means and negotiations.

In the Romanian Government's opinion disarmament and the peaceful solution of international differences are interdependent and condition each other. The perpetuation of armed conflicts and of the sources of tension and war is a serious obstacle in the road to disarmament.

In this context, Romania believes that it is necessary to intensify efforts aimed at a political solution of the situation in Cyprus on the basis of respect for its independence and sovereignty and territorial integrity and by insuring the peaceful coexistence of the two communities and economic and social progress for Cyprus.

Romania firmly advocates the immediate solution of the conflict and the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which requires Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war, respect for the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including their right to set up their own, independent state, and guaranteeing the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of all states in that area.

We are deeply concerned about the aggravation of relations among the various African states, about the foreign military interference and the interference in internal affairs which endangers the independence of the respective peoples and opens up the road to new forms of colonialist domination. The vital interests of African countries, their independent development require that everything should be done to resolve problems between themselves by negotiations, excluding any outside interference.

We attach great importance to strengthening the unity and solidarity among the African countries, this being an essential condition to strengthen their national sovereignty, their political and economic independence and to insure their independent socioeconomic progress and the establishment of a climate of peace, good neighborliness to the benefit of all African peoples and of the cause of security and international cooperation.

The Socialist Republic of Romania is determined to struggle constantly for the political and negotiated solution of all sources of tension and war whose perpetuation will bring about an intensified and expanded arms race--conventional and nuclear--and will increase the danger of new world war. We are convinced that the solution of interstate disputes by peaceful means and political negotiations conducted in the spirit of mutual respect and in conformity with the basic principles of international relations is an essential condition for creating favorable conditions for the disarmament measures.

In the spirit of the great historical responsibility incumbent upon all of us, the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania forcefully stresses that the continuation and accentuation of the arms race, the improvement of military technology have reached, at this time, an unmatched level of intensity that endangers mankind's security, its right to peace and life--a basic right of all peoples.

Enormous financial funds totaling \$400 billion per year, great material and human resources, the remarkable potential of the scientific-technical revolution are diverted from the aims of social prosperity and allocated for creating means of destruction which endanger mankind's existence to an ever greater extent.

The huge proportions of the arms race cause serious disturbances in the world economy; they affect the economic growth rate of all states, irrespective of social system or size; cause stagnation and even steps backward in the economic development of the various countries; cause imbalances in the balance of payments, considerably aggravate and prolong the economic crisis accompanied by a whole range of evil consequences on the living conditions of all peoples.

The negative influence of the arms race on the developing countries is also well known. Under conditions when these countries, which represent the majority of the world states, are confronted with particularly acute

and complex problems, the arms race, by squandering huge resources, hampers the progress of these states, aggravates their economic situation and leads to an increase in their foreign debts, thus generating relations of dependence toward the states that provide them with arms. In Romania's conviction the achievement of disarmament would favor the process of building a new world economic order that would insure new relations of equitable cooperation among all states, would stimulate the development of less developed countries and the progress of all mankind.

Certainly, as long as the danger of aggression persists, it is normal for the states to concern themselves with insuring their national security. As long as no disarmament measures are achieved, each state has the duty and obligation toward its people to insure the necessary defense capacity. However, this cannot mean the achievement of a so-called military balance on the basis of an arms race competition which in itself carries the risk of a world disaster. Romania believes that in order to achieve real progress in the direction of disarmament and to create conditions for security for all states it is essential to achieve a balance by constantly reducing and curbing the arms race ceiling and by international cooperation and detente.

This is why the Socialist Republic of Romania stresses that everything should be done to stop the upward trend of the arms race as a vital commandment for peace, international security, progress and the flourishing of the human civilization.

Mr Chairman, despite the imperative requirement to immediately proceed to achieving disarmament, although numerous resolutions have been adopted by the United Nations and although long negotiations have taken place within the framework of the Disarmament Committee in Geneva, the results that have been recorded thus far cannot be viewed as satisfactory. They were not of a nature to hamper the arms race; not only have the states' arsenals not decreased, but they even increased considerably on the basis of increasingly destructive weapons. At the same time, shortcomings of a political and procedural nature have stopped the states from directly participating in the disarmament negotiations on an equal footing.

This is why it is necessary to achieve radical turning points in the manner of broaching the disarmament problems to break the deadlock of negotiations and direct them onto a road of concrete results. The Socialist Republic of Romania believes that the UN General Assembly special session can play an important role in this respect, can open up new prospects and agree upon principled guidelines, a program of measures and negotiation mechanisms that will permit the effective achievement of disarmament.

Proceeding from the realistic concept that disarmament cannot be achieved all of a sudden, Romania is primarily thinking of a set of measures of a provisional nature that can be applied immediately that will generate and develop the process of reducing the arms race and will favor military disengagement and strengthen international trust. Thus conditions would be

created for gradually applying measures to reduce the arms race in an increasingly substantial manner in order to achieve the final goal--general and primarily nuclear disarmament.

For this purpose, Romania proposes:

1. As a first step all states should agree to freeze military expenditures, military forces and weapons at the 1978 level and also pledge to gradually reduce them as of 1979.

In the first stage, by 1985, the reduction should total at least 10-15 percent compared with current levels and should encompass all the departments of the armed forces--land, naval and air forces--and all categories of weapons, both conventional and classic ones, as well as nuclear weapons.

Understanding the role and the responsibilities incumbent upon large states in international life and taking into account that these states have the largest military forces and arms available and that they hold the major share in allocating funds for the arms race, it is necessary that the measures on freezing and reducing military budgets and arms should be applied first in these states. Undeniably this would make a decisive contribution to reducing the arms race, would stimulate the general process of disarmament and would benefit international detente and cooperation.

The sums of money that would thus be saved could be used for peaceful purposes. Romania proposes that part of these savings be allocated for each state to develop its own people. The other part should be deposited into a UN fund to support the developing countries, especially those with an annual per capita income of up to \$500-600 to accelerate their socio-economic development. Thus the disarmament process would stimulate the economic progress of all states, including the economically advanced states and would permit an improvement of the living standard of all peoples and would be linked from the very beginning to resolving the acute social problems of the large masses of the people in all countries and of eliminating the very serious phenomenon of underdevelopment that affects a great part of mankind.

2. Another set of measures promoted by Romania aims at military disengagement and reducing the danger of confrontations between states.

Within this framework, we propose that all states should adopt a commitment not to station any more troops and weapons on the territories of other states and to gradually reduce existing troops and demobilize them and insure the withdrawal of all foreign troops within the limits of the national border and to eliminate military bases from the territories of other states.

As an important measure along the lines of military disengagement, we propose the establishment of security and demilitarized areas at a 15-20 kilometers distance from the national border and the firm commitment by

all states to give notification of troop movements and large-scale military maneuvers, the renunciation of military maneuvers, particularly multinational ones, near the borders of other states.

3. Romania believes that to insure detente and peace in the world it is necessary to eliminate mankind's division into military blocs. To achieve this goal, the Romanian Government proposes that in the current stage all the member-states of the various military alliances should assume the commitment not to admit new members, not to increase military troops and the level above the current year level and to gradually reduce the activity of the military blocs.

Thus conditions could be created for negotiations on simultaneously eliminating military blocs, including NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

4. Within the framework of measures proposed by Romania, an important goal is disarmament and, for this purpose, military disengagement in Europe, without which one cannot speak of security and peace. One cannot ignore the fact that it is this continent--where the two world wars broke out--that concentrates the largest troops and weapons, both conventional, classical and nuclear weapons and it is this continent where the strongest military blocs confront each other. To surmount such a state of affairs and considering also the unsatisfactory results of the recent Belgrade meeting, Romania believes it is necessary that:

--All European states should assume firm commitments regarding the reduction and cessation of military maneuvers and of any kind of demonstration of strength at the border of other countries;

--By 1985 the troops and weapons stationed on the territories of other European states should be reduced 10-15 percent, accompanied by a reduction, to the same extent, of the national troops of all countries participating in the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Helsinki;

--Foreign military bases, primarily nuclear bases, should be eliminated and all troops should be withdrawn within the national border, so that Europe may become a continent on which there are no military forces and installations misplaced on the territory of other states;

--Negotiations should be begun for simultaneously eliminating NATO and Warsaw Pact by taking measures that will guarantee the security and sovereignty of all peoples in Europe, excluding the possibility of surprise attacks against any country;

--A general European pact should be concluded of which all states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should be members, a pact that should include the commitment to renounce the use or threat of force, the creation of conditions for protecting each nation from danger of an aggression and from interference and pressure from outside.

5. Romania firmly holds that within the efforts devoted to disarmament priority should be given to nuclear disarmament--an imperative determined by the great dangers nuclear weapons represent in the destiny of human civilization.

In connection with this question, Romania advocates:

--The conclusion of an agreement whereby the states possessing nuclear weapons assume the commitment to not use such arms against non-nuclear states, this being an essential requirement of insuring their security;

--The renunciation by nuclear states of placing further nuclear weapons on the territory of other states;

--The cessation of improving nuclear weapons and stopping the production of nuclear weapons;

--The cessation of the production of fissionable materials for military purposes;

--The gradual reduction of stocks of nuclear weapons and homing missiles until their complete elimination;

--That the states participating in this session should make a solemn pledge to negotiate an agreement on completely banning nuclear weapons.

We also propose the cessation of production, the elimination from the armed forces' equipment and the prohibition of the use of chemical, biological, ecological, and radiological weapons and that they should be illegal, including the neutron bomb and any other mass destruction weapons.

6. The Romanian Government wants to reassert, on this occasion too, that the measures aimed at reducing the nuclear arms race should by no means impede on the use by all states of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

Proceeding from the reality that in the current scientific-technical revolution the peaceful use of nuclear energy is an important means of rapidly developing the economy, the attempts to set up monopolies over nuclear technology are unacceptable; they are attempts that are made under the pretext that their expansion would lead to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. On the basis of equal sovereignty, all countries have the right to benefit from the most modern achievements of science, including the field of nuclear technology. This causes us to stress the need to deepen cooperation and collaboration among states in the field of using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and to eliminate any discriminatory practice, thus insuring the free access of all countries to the achievement of science and technology in this field.

The Romanian Government proposes that a tangible action program should be drawn up in this respect under IAEA aegis regarding the international

cooperation and collaboration in the field of using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

7. To create conditions for achieving nuclear disarmament, Romania believes that it is necessary to agree on tangible measures on creating areas of peace and international cooperation in which no nuclear weapons are stationed. Romania firmly supports the proposals on creating such areas in Central Europe, in Northern Europe, in the Mediterranean area and in the Middle East, in Africa, the Indian Ocean; it supports the treaty concluded on the banning of nuclear weapons in Latin America.

We will continue to support any such proposals, considering that the creation of such areas--on the basis of the consensus by the states concerned and by respecting their national sovereignty and completely guaranteeing their security--would contribute considerably to giving an impetus to relations of good neighborliness and fruitful cooperation among states, that it would continuously reduce the extent of spreading nuclear weapons throughout the globe and would create ever more favorable conditions for nuclear disarmament.

In this context, the Romanian Government reiterates its proposal on turning the Balkans into an area of good neighborliness, peace and broad cooperation, without nuclear weapons. This would be in keeping with the interests of peace, cooperation and security of all Balkan peoples and would also be a major contribution to achieving security in Europe and throughout the world.

We want to particularly stress that, in Romania's concept, the states in denuclearized areas must enjoy real guarantees by the nuclear powers that under no circumstances will they ever use nuclear weapons against them and that they will be guaranteed free access to nuclear technologies for peaceful purposes.

Taking a stand for and firmly acting toward achieving disarmament, Romania deems it necessary to stress the inalienable right of each state to develop under conditions of complete security, to insure its defense capacity as long as no disarmament is achieved and to have firm guarantees against any interference in its internal affairs and against the danger of any armed aggression. All the measures that will be agreed upon regarding disarmament must guarantee the states conditions of security and must insure that they will not be the victims of attacks, that their national independence and sovereignty will not be endangered.

Thus, to insure that countries are not dragged into military conflicts, Romania proposes the conclusion of an international agreement whereby all states pledge to resolve any differences or disputes only by peaceful means, by political means and by negotiations between the sides concerned. Undoubtedly, the conclusion of such an agreement would deeply and positively influence the world political climate, would facilitate the rapid elimination of the sources of war and would create a particularly favorable framework for proceeding to disarmament measures.

In the same context, the Socialist Republic of Romania proposes the setting up of a body of good offices and conciliation, under the subordination of the UN General Assembly, designed to contribute to preventing states of tension, military conflicts, to assisting the states concerned in finding solutions of conciliation, good neighborliness and peaceful coexistence.

9. In defining, establishing and achieving disarmament measures, the Socialist Republic of Romania attaches the greatest importance to increasing the role of the United Nations.

We are taking into consideration the fact that an issue of the proportions and implications of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, which is of vital interest for all states, cannot be resolved unilaterally, bilaterally or within the framework of small groups of states. To achieve lasting, equitable and generally acceptable solutions it is imperatively necessary that all states are able to participate in resolving the problem of disarmament under conditions of complete equality. Each people has the right to security and peace and this makes it legitimate for all states to participate in the world effort aimed at resolving the disarmament problems, while the United Nations, due to its universal nature, offers the most appropriate framework in this respect.

We believe that the United Nations, through its supreme body--the General Assembly--must systematically examine the activity in the field of disarmament; must define the principles that govern negotiations and must see that they are respected; must formulate recommendations for the deliberation and decision making bodies and must receive regular reports on their implementation and observance; must monitor the effective achievement of disarmament and primarily of nuclear disarmament.

In this respect, Romania advocates the future convening of further UN General Assembly sessions devoted to disarmament, sessions that will examine the stage of implementing the recommendations that will be agreed upon at this session and will examine new disarmament measures. We also agree with the idea of convening a world disarmament conference under UN aegis that should be supported by all the states, and at which extensive political, civic and social circles should be represented.

At the same time, we believe in the need to adopt measures to improve the activities and enhance the efficiency of the Geneva disarmament committee, designed to eliminate existing deficiencies in the structure, forms and methods of activity which have prevented this committee from satisfactorily fulfilling its mission. More concretely, we suggest that this session adopt recommendations to insure that the Geneva committee focus its activities on the key issues of disarmament; that its organization and the ruling of its proceedings be democratized and that the co-chairman system be replaced; that all interested states can participate in negotiations on an equal footing; and that the debates assume an open character, so that public opinion can have control over them.

10. The interests of international security of all the states require that all the measures on halting the arms race and moving to disarmament should be implemented under adequate international control. The object of such a control, the ways it is exercised and its mechanism should be agreed upon by all the states concerned. We believe it would be useful for agreements on military disengagement, armaments reduction and disarmament to include adequate control measures, so as to insure that all the states fulfill all their obligations correctly and in good faith.

Proceeding from these considerations, Romania suggests the establishment of an appropriate international body for disarmament, open to the participation of all the states, which should function within the framework of the United Nations and under the direct authority of the General Assembly.

We also find it desirable that Committee No 1 of the UN General Assembly should deal exclusively with disarmament matters, this being an essential element for insuring international security.

Mr Chairman, the Socialist Republic of Romania believes that, to yield results, the proceedings of this session of the UN General Assembly must take place in a working and constructive spirit, and that all efforts must focus on drafting a comprehensive final document, featuring clear provisions of commitment in all its components: The declaration, the program of action, and negotiation mechanisms. Our session must open up new prospects for approaching the disarmament problem, must draft clear recommendations capable of promoting real progress in the area of disarmament and set the stage for future disarmament negotiations, whose final aim must consist of a treaty on general and complete disarmament, under a concrete and effective international control.

As disarmament is the major aspiration of the peoples, the eyes of all international public opinion are trained on this session.

The peoples are themselves the creators of history and civilization and of mankind's fate. This is why we believe that more resolute steps must be taken to mobilize public opinion and the progressive social and political forces everywhere to insure a vigorous course in the general movement for disarmament.

We hope that the competent factors and the governments of all the countries will act energetically and perseveringly to achieve real steps toward solving the problem of disarmament.

I am empowered by Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu to solemnly declare from this high rostrum that Romania will make every effort to contribute to the success of the proceedings and to achieve disarmament, in keeping with the aspirations of all mankind and with the interests of peace throughout the world.

Mankind is today at a crossroads: It has wonderful potential for progress and development but at the same time it is threatened by the specter of the increasingly grave dangers posed by the continuation of the arms race. This is why we want to state here, at the supreme UN forum, that no cause is more noble in the name of which the nations should unite than that of disarmament--the safest guarantee for peace. Let us unite the efforts of the states and peoples and thus open up bright horizons for eliminating arms and wars from our society once and for all, and for building a world of peace and cooperation, in which the work and achievements of human genius should serve the interests of the welfare and happiness of all the peoples on our planet!

Thank you for your attention!

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BRITAIN'S CALLAGHAN GIVES INTERVIEW TO 'AGERPRES'

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0917 GMT 7 Jun 78 AU

[Interview with Prime Minister James Callaghan: "The British Government Attaches Great Importance to President Nicolae Ceausescu's Visit to Great Britain"]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 7 May--The British Government attach great importance to President Ceausescu's visit, the first state visit to Britain ever by the head of state of a socialist country, said the British premier in an interview given to the Romanian news agency--AGERPRES. Romania, the British premier said in the interview published by the largest Romanian daily SCINTEIA in its foreign news coverages of its June 7 issue, is playing an increasingly important role in world affairs and President Ceausescu himself has achieved a well deserved reputation as a world statesman with a profound knowledge and understanding of international issues. I am greatly looking forward to my talks with him and am sure they will be very interesting and extremely important.

Obviously, J. Callaghan went on to say, we hope the visit will have a significant effect on our already very good bilateral relations. My predecessor, Sir Harold Wilson, paid a highly successful visit to Romania in 1975 and, with President Ceausescu, signed an important joint declaration on relations between our two countries. That document remains valid today and I expect that it will be reaffirmed in June.

The 1975 joint declaration also agreed that trade between our two countries should increase by 1980 to at least 250 percent of the level of 1974. We have always regarded this as a minimum commitment and I personally hope that trade following the state visit will exceed that target well within the time set.

As regards scientific and technological cooperation, an agreement between our two countries was signed as long ago as 1967. The programme of cultural exchanges continues and we hope that a new cultural agreement will be signed during the state visit. On our side the British Council and the Great Britain East Europe Center will also continue to do all they can to promote further exchanges. But we would also like to see exchanges flourish outside

this formal framework. I also expect that documents will be signed during the state visit dealing with collaboration between Britain and Romania in the fields of agriculture, transport and aerospace.

Setting forth his opinions on the actions which should be undertaken to further the implementation of the principles and the provisions of Helsinki Final Act the prime minister said among other things:

It is rather the fulfillment by each government of what it has promised which will create the atmosphere for the further development of peace, understanding and collaboration in Europe. I hope, therefore, that the period leading up to Madrid will see a stricter fulfillment by all governments of all the provisions of the final act.

Further efforts are also needed to develop implementation on the bilateral level. In this connection, we have appreciated the ministerial and official exchanges we have had on CSCE matters with representatives of the Romanian Government. I look forward to continuing this dialogue in my forthcoming discussions with President Ceausescu. On the multilateral level, the United Kingdom shares Romania's disappointment at the unsatisfactory outcome of the Belgrade CSCE follow-up meeting. In our view, further efforts must be made. We attach importance to the three forthcoming experts meetings agreed at Belgrade and will contribute to a positive outcome.

In the period leading up to the Madrid meeting in 1981 it is particularly important that all governments should redouble their efforts to implement the final act, since only in this way can the necessary conditions for its success be assured. At the same time it could be useful for governments to exchange views bilaterally on areas in which progress could realistically be made at Madrid.

Answering another question, the prime minister welcomed the UN Special Session on Disarmament as a means of giving an impetus to progress on disarmament.

After having referred to some problems of world economy and to the major guidelines of his government's policies, the British prime minister said, among other things:

I would like you to tell the Romanian people how much we in this country are looking forward to the visit of President and Madame Ceausescu. We hope that they will enjoy their brief stay here and that the visit will lead [to] the development of still closer relations between our two countries. I also hope that this important visit will encourage increasing exchanges between our two countries in all fields, political, commercial, scientific, cultural and also in tourism. I would also like to use this opportunity to pay tribute to the outstanding way in which the Romanian people have responded to the recent natural disasters which Romania has suffered, including the severe earthquake of March last year, without

wavering from the impressive economic targets they have set themselves. Their courage and determination deserve our profound admiration.

Above all, I hope that President Ceausescu's state visit will introduce an era of deeper cooperation and understanding between our two countries and will lead to an expansion of contacts between our peoples at all levels, James Callaghan said in conclusion.

CSO: 2020

'AGERPRES' REPORTS ON ROMANIAN DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1950 GMT 26 May 78 AU

["To Freeze Military Expenditures, Strengths and Weapons, to Gradually Reduce Them"--AGERPRES heading]

[Text] The translation into life of the desideratum of disarmament is conceived by Romania as a complex process of perspective to be carried out gradually, stage by stage. Without forgetting for any moment the final target of the process--general disarmament and first of all nuclear disarmament, she declares and campaigns for the adoption of partial measures transitory in character gradually conducive to the fundamental goal.

Advancing her proposals to the UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament Romania also declares ready to consider, in the most profound spirit of receptivity, any other proposal, idea, suggestion that might contribute to real progress toward disarmament.

The provisional proposals envisioned by Romania include, first, those related to freezing the budgets for arming, the military strengths and weapons and, subsequently, to gradually reducing them. The reason why these measures are given prime of place is obvious! Their implementation would from the beginning bar the way to expanding and amplifying the arms race and implicitly, would favour the climate of detente which is imperiously necessary for a switch over to disarmament measures.

As to the freezing of the military budgets and strengths, it is obvious that this would not mean a genuine disarmament measure, would not mark a reduction of the budgets and strengths, but it would be a first step toward halting the development of the arms race, would hamper its continued expansion, the growth year-by-year of its scope. The military budgets have kept rising, instead of being cut down. Even if the share of the national income assigned to military budgets has been constant in some countries, however, under conditions of growing national income this means a continuous rise in the expenditures on arming. The freezing suggested by Romania would thus mean a first step toward halting this pernicious tendency. Likewise, Romania's proposals include the beginning of actual disarmament measures, in that they provide, as a next stage, for a 10-15 percent drop in the level of military expenditures and strengths.

In fact, Romania considers it would be possible that the freezing of the military expenditures at the level of 1978 be covenanted, as also the gradual reduction, starting with the 1979 financial year, so that by 1985 these expenditures should drop by at least 10-15 percent, as to 1978.

Estimations show that under the current conditions, by the 15 percent reduction in the next 7 years of the military budgets, savings worth over 200 billion dollars could be made.

Romania appreciates that a part of the funds earmarked at present for arming could be used by each state operating cuts in the military budgets, in view of carrying out programs of economic development and raising the population's living standard. The remainder could be assigned to setting up a UN development fund in view of assisting the economically lagging countries with a per capita national income of up to 500-600 dollars, so as to contribute to faster economic and social progress.

Obviously, such a distribution of the funds resulted from the freezing and reduction of the military expenditures would be to the benefit of both the economically advanced countries and the developing ones, would meet the demands for welfare and prosperity of all peoples.

It is known that even in the economically developed countries that have a relatively high level, there are numerous socio-economic acute issues which cannot be solved because funds are missing. By turning a part of the amounts of money wasted now on arming, new industrial objectives could be financed, so as to create new work places and eradicate unemployment, to develop economically some more backward geographical zones.

Taking as a computation hypothesis the reduction by only 10 percent of the amounts spent now on the globe on arming, and considering that 50 percent of the savings made would be assigned to the development fund, some 20 billion dollars a year would be fed in the fund from the very beginning.

So, Romania's proposals pursue that the disarmament efforts be organically blended from the very beginning with the actual contribution to the settlement of another cardinal issue of contemporaneity--the liquidation of underdevelopment, the elimination of gaps between states, the building of a new international economic order.

Naturally, in step with the achievement of fresh steps toward disarmament, financial availabilities would emerge for the undertaking, by states' concerted efforts, of grand projects in power engineering, the fructification of the sea and ocean resources, the peaceful uses of outerspace, preventing natural catastrophes or to liquidating their consequences, to eradicating some diseases, such as cancer.

As to the freezing and reduction of military strengths and weapons, Romania appreciates it would be useful and possible that their halting be agreed upon at the level of 1978, as also their gradual reduction, so that by 1985, cuts of 10-15 percent be made as to the current level, with more substantial diminutions in the countries having big strengths.

The positive consequences of such measures are obvious, given present-day realities. The number of people now under arms is of some 22 million. It appears that, based on this country's proposals, the diminution could be obtained by 2-3 million in the number of the people under arms in the next 7 years, as also as matching diminution in the number of persons out of the total of some 100 million carrying on various forms of military activity. The fears that such measures would lead, in certain countries, to augmenting unemployment, are unjustified. The financial availabilities created by cutting down military budgets, just as the amounts of money spent now on the maintenance and equipment of these troops would secure investments funds for civil objectives, for the public sector. Consequently, the persons released, just as those who would no longer be integrated in military activities, would be taken by civil production compartments, would devote their work and creative capabilities to the carrying through of social and economic programs, and that would be a contribution to the raising of the population's living standard.

Likewise, the reduction of the numbers of armed forces would bring about the checking of the foundation of new military basis, the diminution of their endowment with new stocks of weapons, nuclear included, and, in the future their liquidation, an essential contribution to both the consolidation of the national independence and sovereignty of the countries on whose territory they are stationed, to the creation of the necessary premises for the abolition of the military blocs, and to strengthening general security.

CSO: 2020

LUDOVIC FAZEKAS ADDRESSES MEETING IN HARGHITA COUNTY

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1916 GMT 27 May 78 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 27 May--A meeting took place in the Lutita Village Harghita County, on May 27, marking 130 years since the 1848 bourgeois-democratic revolution and 30 years since the nationalization of the main means of production by the working class led by the party.

It was 130 years ago that the Szecklers' meeting took place at Lutita, launching the proclamation "brother Romanian and Saxon fellow citizens" stating among others: we recognize your nationality, language and belief and we are ready to defend them with sword in hand.

In his speech at the meeting, Ludovic Fazekas, first secretary of the Harghita County Committee of the RCP chairman of the county people's council, pointed to the historic significance of the 1848 revolution in the development of the Romanian nation. He referred to significant moments of the joint fight of the Romanian and Szeckler working people in that region against foreign oppression and domination.

The speaker said: fruit of the national policy of the RCP and of the Romanian state, the Harghita region, too, alongside the whole country, has witnessed strong economic and social development, an unprecedented blossoming in the 30 years since nationalization--real material groundwork of equality of rights of the working people regardless of nationality. The 30 years since the nationalization of the main means of production--fundamental act of the socialist revolution in Romania that changed the entire country's look--have had, for the Harghita County as well, economic and social consequence. Now, the industry of the Harghita County carries out the whole production of 1938 in only 5 days. The towns of Miercurea Ciuc, Odorheiu Secuiesc, Gheorghiene, Toplita, Vlahita, Balan and others have become up-to-date industrial centres, with new blocks of flats and many socio-cultural establishments. Subsequent to the investments allotted to this county, it will be among Romania's industrialized counties by 1980.

At the end of the meeting, the participants addressed a telegram to the C.C. of the RCP, to President Nicolae Ceausescu, expressing gratitude for the consistent concern with the harmonious development of all localities, materialized in the Harghita County by an unprecedented development which brought about deep mutations in the inhabitants' socio-cultural life. As an outcome of the firm implementation of the national Marxist-Leninist policy of the RCP and of the Romanian state--the telegram reads--today we are actually assured conditions of real equality, for our plenary assertion and spiritual accomplishment. The wonderful conditions of this full equality we are enjoying make us justifiably reject firmly any attempt of disunion, no matter wherefrom it [words indistinct]. The telegram also expresses full adhesion to and approval of Romania's home and foreign policy.

CSO: 2020

ROMANIA

ROMANIAN-NIGERIAN COMMUNIQUE ON OBASANJO'S VISIT

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Jun 78 p 3 AU

[Text of Romanian-Nigerian joint communique on the official visit by Lt Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, head of the Federal Military Government and chief commander of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 5-7 June 1978]

[Text] At the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Lt Gen Olugesun Obasanjo, head of the Federal Military Government and commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, paid an official visit to Romania 5-7 June 1978.

During his stay in Romania, the head of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Lt Gen Olugesun Obasanjo, and the delegation accompanying him visited economic and sociocultural sites in Bucharest and Arges County and was given a warm welcome full of hospitality everywhere, a clear expression of the feelings of esteem and friendship harbored by the Romanian people for the Nigerian people.

During the visit, the two heads of state conducted official talks in an atmosphere of sincere friendship and cordiality and in a spirit of full understanding and mutual esteem.

The talks were attended for the Romanian side by:

Manea Manescu, prime minister of the government; Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of the government; Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation; Virgil Trofin, minister of forestry, economy and construction materials; Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs; Vasile Pungan, minister at the presidential office of the Socialist Republic of Romania and head of the group of advisers to the republic's president; Ion Avram, minister of machine-building industry; Traian Dudas, minister of transport and telecommunications; Ion M. Nicolae, first deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation;

Silviu Curticeanu, presidential and state council secretary; Octavian Carare, Romania's ambassador to Lagos; Petre Tanasie, director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

For the Nigerian side by:

Brig Joseph Garba, member of the Supreme Military Council and commissioner for external affairs; Col M. Buhari, member of the Supreme Military Council and chairman of the Nigerian National Oil Corporation ; Col U. A. Mohammed, military governor of the State of Sokoto; Lt Col David Ikpene, military governor of the State of Ondo; Dr R. A. Adeleye, commissioner for industries; Col M. Magoro, commissioner for transport; Dr O. Adewoye, commissioner for economic development; Dr E. B. Leton, commissioner for information; L. S. M. Osobase, ambassador of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to Bucharest; Alhaji Arzika, secretary to the head of the Federal Military Government; B. O. Awokoya, director for Europe in the Ministry of External Affairs.

The two heads of state examined bilateral relations between the two countries. Stressing with deep satisfaction the excellent relations between the two countries, especially in past years, they emphasized the need to continue to expand and strengthen these relations in fields of common interest.

In this context, the two heads of state stressed the existence of great opportunities to continue to increase the trade exchange between the two countries and to intensify and diversify economic cooperation in fields of mutual interest such as: mining, wood processing, construction materials, agriculture, transportation and communications, scientific and technical research.

Both heads of state expressed their determination to act to continue to develop cooperation and friendship between the two countries and voiced their hope that these relations will become more lasting relations and that they will be crowned with fruitful results in the interest of peace, justice and international security.

In a desire to express the aspirations for peace and friendship of the Romanian and Nigerian peoples and to continue to develop bilateral relations at various levels and contribute to establishing new relations among all world countries and to constructively resolve the great problems confronting mankind, the two heads of state signed a solemn joint declaration between the Socialist Republic of Romania and of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Valuing the particular importance of summit meetings and the contribution made by visits at various other levels for constantly developing bilateral relations, and especially for giving concrete form to and agreeing on the fields of economic cooperation between the two countries, the two heads of state agreed to intensify contacts and mutual visits between government institutions and between specialized institutions in Romania and Nigeria.

For this reason, the two heads of state expressed their satisfaction with the progress recorded thus far in the activity carried out by the joint commission set up between the two countries.

In connection with economic relations, the two heads of state expressed satisfaction with progress achieved by the two countries in the field of economic and trade exchange, especially after the setting up of the joint Romanian-Nigerian commission, and pledged to further develop and strengthen cooperation in these fields.

During the visit, talks took place between the co-chairmen of the joint commission at which the sides agreed in principle to sell crude oil and other Nigerian products that will be periodically specified in exchange for Romanian goods and services required to accelerate Nigeria's industrial development.

For this purpose, an aide memoire on mutual exchange of goods was signed to serve as basis for future negotiations in this respect. The sides agreed to encourage the conclusion of long-term agreements and contracts to give stability and provide broader prospects for economic relations between Romania and Nigeria.

At the same time, the chairmen of the joint commission examined the stage of implementing cooperation ventures in the other fields of economic cooperation and signed an aide memoire on further strengthening cooperation in agriculture, the wood processing industry, transportation, petrochemistry and electrification.

They also signed an air traffic agreement between the two countries to facilitate economic and trade relations between them.

Within the framework of the exchange of views on international matters, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the head of state of the Federal Republic of Nigeria advocated the intensification of the struggle waged by the peoples for peace and international security, for a new world economic order, against the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy and for promoting new interstate relations based on the principle of international law. At the same time, the two heads of state expressed their deep indignation about the deterioration of the political climate at a world level, about the sharpening of contradictions between some states or groups of states and about the persistence of certain sources of tension and the emergence of other sources of international tension generated by the accentuated policy of redividing the world into spheres of influence and domination and by the old imperialist policy of force and diktat.

They reasserted their firm desire to act to establish a new international economic and political order that will place relations among states on the new principles of equality, will insure an equitable cooperation and support the efforts made by the developing states or by the economically poorly

developed states in the direction of a more rapid economic and social progress permitting and facilitating their access to modern technology by creating, at the same time, conditions for the equitable prosperity and development of the various parts of the world and for world economic stability generally.

The two heads of state reasserted the need for relations among all states to be based on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, fully equal rights, noninterference in internal affairs, territorial integrity, mutual advantage and nonrecourse to the use or threat of force. They stressed that the general application of these principles in relations among all states, their consistent implementation and the strict observance of each people's sacred right to master its own destiny and its national resources and to organize its life and choose the path for its development in keeping with its own interests, without any outside interference, are basic preconditions for strengthening peace and world security, for the socioeconomic progress of all nations.

The heads of the two states reasserted their common position on the need to democratize international relations and to achieve a new policy based on equal cooperation among all nations, creating the appropriate framework for the active and direct participation by all states--whether large, medium-sized or small; whether economically advanced countries, developing or nonaligned countries--in international life and in constructively resolving the major problems confronting mankind today.

In this context, they stressed the positive contribution made by the nonaligned countries at a world level, especially to the struggle for peace and international cooperation. At the same time, they stressed the active participation of these countries in efforts aimed at resolving the problem of underdevelopment, establishing the new international economic and political order.

Referring to African problems, the two heads of state reasserted their total commitment to the cause of completely eliminating racism, imperialism, colonialism and all their vestiges in all parts of the continent. Reiterating their support for the just cause of the struggle for the liberation of Namibia, and Zimbabwe and South Africa, they called upon the peoples to intensify the efforts of the national liberation movement in their struggle to achieve self-determination and independence. The two heads of state condemn and fully reject the so-called agreement on the internal settlement signed by Ian Smith and his porteges to resolve the problem of independence for Zimbabwe and they call upon the international community to support all efforts aimed at achieving peace and justice and Zimbabwe's independence. The two heads of state also condemn with determination the absurd and arbitrary assassination of defenseless civilians and innocent children, as well as mass arrests of African patriots by the apartheid regime in South Africa. They firmly condemn the continuous acts of arrogant violation of UN resolutions by the racist and illegal regimes in southern Africa. They

view them as inhuman, barbarian and uncivilized and as an unacceptable violation of the basic right of the colored people in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa to self-determination. The two heads of state reasserted their complete adherence to the UN resolution that demands that South Africa withdraw from Namibia without any preliminary conditions.

The two heads of state called upon all people to take firm action to support the oppressed peoples in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa and to finally eliminate the colonialist and neocolonialist policy of racial discrimination and apartheid.

During the exchange of views on the process of establishing security and cooperation in Europe, Romania's president stressed the unsatisfactory results with which the Belgrade meeting had ended. The two heads of state stressed the need to intensify efforts to effectively implement the final document of the Helsinki Conference, as a unitary whole, and the need to adopt concrete measures for military disengagement, for giving an impetus to multilateral cooperation in the economic, scientific-technical and cultural fields. The two heads of state agreed that the strengthening of cooperation and security in Europe, the establishment of new and democratic relations between the states on the continent will exert a positive influence on the international political climate and on peace and security throughout the world.

The two heads of state stressed their determination to strengthen the solidarity and unity of action of the developing countries in their struggle for establishing a new international economic and political order, for completely eliminating the policy of force and interference in internal affairs, of domination, oppression and exploitation of other countries and of redividing the world into spheres of influence. They attach great importance to the UN General Assembly decision on discussing the establishment of the new international economic order within the United Nations and convening a UN General Assembly special session in 1980 devoted to this problem.

To achieve these targets, the two countries have agreed to take gradual action to improve the UN activity and charter so that this will serve the establishment of a new international economic and political order, will strengthen the role of the United Nations and democratize and adapt it to the realities of today's world.

The heads of state of Romania and Nigeria firmly advocated immediate tangible measures for stopping the arms race and achieving disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. They expressed their desire to take joint action, together with the other states, so that the UN General Assembly session on disarmament will adopt a program of tangible measures that will permit the conclusion of generally acceptable agreements and understandings designed to insure general and primarily nuclear disarmament.

Stressing with particular satisfaction the fruitful cooperation established between the two countries at an international level, the heads of the two states agreed to strengthen and expand this cooperation within the United Nations and its bodies and within the "group of the 77" and the nonaligned states' movement, as well as within other world forums to increase their governments' contribution to the democratic and just solution of the major problems of international life. For the same purpose, they agreed to organize regular consultations and exchanges of views between the two countries by diplomatic channels, regular meetings between the representatives of their foreign ministries and by other means.

In this context, they firmly advocated the process of achieving peace in the Middle East, the political and negotiated settlement of the conflict so as to bring about the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war and a solution to the Palestinian problem on the basis of their right to self-determination, including their right to set up their own national state and on the basis of the right to insuring the independence, sovereignty and integrity of all states in that area.

The head of the Federal Republic of Nigeria expressed deep satisfaction with the results of his visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania. He expressed words of great appreciation for the dynamic foreign policy practiced by Romania, by President Nicolae Ceausescu personally, a policy which serves the cause of peace, cooperation and friendship among peoples. He expressed sincere words of appreciation for the firm support granted to the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, for the struggle for national liberation in Africa and for his contribution to establishing a new international economic order.

The head of the Nigerian state expressed words of appreciation for the efforts made by the Socialist Republic of Romania and by the Romanian people, under President Nicolae Ceausescu's leadership, in building the comprehensively developed socialist society, in accelerating the people's economic, social and cultural progress and in raising the entire country onto new peaks of human civilization.

The head of the Romanian state expressed his satisfaction with the active foreign policy promoted by Nigeria--a policy of peace, cooperation and friendship with all peoples--and sincere words of appreciation for the role played by Nigeria in eliminating the last vestiges of colonialism from the African continent, and in strengthening solidarity and consolidating cooperation ventures and relations between the developing countries.

The head of the Romanian state also expressed words of appreciation for the achievements recorded by the Nigerian people under the leadership of the head of the Nigerian state, Lt Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, in the process of comprehensively developing the country's economy and in continuously improving the nation's cultural and spiritual living standard.

The head of the Nigerian state, Lt Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, expressed sincere thanks for the particularly warm reception and hospitality accorded him and the delegation accompanying him, throughout their stay in Romania.

Issued in Bucharest, 7 June 1978, in two copies in the Romanian and English languages, both texts having the same validity.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania;
Lt Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, head of the federal military government and chief commander of the armed forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

ROMANIAN-NIGERIAN DECLARATION ON OBASANJO'S VISIT

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Jun 78 pp 1,3 AU

[Text of Romanian-Nigerian joint solemn declaration on the official visit of Lt Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, head of state of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to Romania 5-7 June 1978.]

[Text] The Socialist Republic of Romania and the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Considering the favorable development of bilateral relations and the relations of friendship, cooperation and mutual esteem established between the two countries and peoples:

Desiring to develop relations of friendship and cooperation at a more rapid rate in all fields between the peoples of the two countries;

Aware of the need to increase their contribution to promoting peace, understanding and international security and to building a better and more just world;

Reasserting their adherence to the aims and principles of the UN Charter and their joint determination to contribute, together with the other states, to strengthening the role of the United Nations in international life in resolving the major problems confronting mankind;

Stressing the basic responsibility of each state in achieving its people's economic, social and cultural progress, without any outside impediment;

Noting that all states, without any discrimination, have the right and duty to participate in resolving the international problems confronting mankind;

Expressing the conviction that international peace is based on the respect for each state's sacred right to national independence and sovereignty, to peace and security, that it is based on each people's inalienable right to independently decide its destiny, without any outside interference, constraint or pressure, and on the principle of the states' sovereign equality:

Firmly taking a stand against the policy of force, diktat and interference in internal affairs, of redividing the world into spheres of influence and domination thus creating great dangers for the peoples' sovereignty and freedom and for peace and international cooperation;

Expressing their deep concern about the accelerated arms race which endangers mankind's existence, contributes to deepening the economic and social chasms between states and hampers the process of eliminating underdevelopment;

Fully aware of the responsibility incumbent upon all states--large, small and medium-sized, irrespective of their geographical location or their development level and political, economic and social system--in achieving international peace and security, in promoting relations of friendship, understanding and cooperation among all countries and peoples;

Considering that the great political, economic and social changes, as well as the progress of science and modern technology increase the importance of the unanimously recognized principles of international law and of their strict observance by all states in their relations;

Stressing the need to intensify efforts to eliminate underdevelopment, establishing a new political and economic order in the world and democratizing international relations;

Believing that the backwardness of certain countries that incorporate the majority of the globe's population is a result of inequitable economic relations and of the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy;

Reasserting the right of all states to independent economic, social and cultural development, to international cooperation and to free access to the achievements of modern science and technology;

Expressing their firm conviction that peace and international justice are indivisible, that international justice is unique, indivisible and universal;

Appreciating the particular contribution the African peoples and states have made to the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism, for eliminating the policy of domination and oppression and for asserting a new, democratic type of interstate relations;

Hailing with satisfaction the victories won thus far by the liberation movements in Africa in their just struggle for national independence and expressing their firm conviction that the struggle for the total elimination of colonialism, neocolonialism and apartheid is a just cause;

Stressing their active solidarity and effective support for national liberation forces in Africa for finally eliminating apartheid, colonialism and neocolonialism in southern Africa.

I.

I. Solemnly Declare their joint desire and determination:

- A) To expand and deepen their relations of friendship and cooperation in all fields of activity;
- B) To intensify and expand bilateral political cooperation and diplomatic contacts and cooperation within international organizations;
- C) To facilitate government and parliamentary exchanges and exchanges between various mass organizations and professional associations;
- D) To promote and intensify mutually advantageous cooperation, develop trade exchanges, strengthen industrial, technical and scientific cooperation in fields of common interest to make optimal use of their natural resources;
- E) To promote exchanges in the field of culture, science, education, art, tourism and sports;
- F) To strengthen friendly relations between the two peoples by better mutual understanding of their material and cultural values;
- G) To cooperate within the activities carried out by the United Nations and other international bodies and organizations with a view to promoting the interests and aspirations of the developing countries and
- H) To deepen and expand their consultations by normal diplomatic channels and by regular meetings at various levels.

II. Solemnly Proclaim Their Common Desire To Base Their Relations and Relations With All the Other States On the Following Principles:

- 1. Each state's sacred right to existence, freedom, national independence and sovereignty; each state's right to live in peace and its duty to have good relations with the other states;
- 2. Each people's inalienable right to freely decide its destiny and to freely develop its political, economic and social system in keeping with its desire and interests, without any outside interference;
- 3. Each state's sovereign, inalienable and constant right to master its natural riches and all the other resources for its people's socio-economic development and well-being; the right of maritime states to enjoy exclusive use of their marine and submarine resources within their national jurisdiction and the right of all states to participate on an equitable footing in exploiting the submarine territories and their resources outside their national jurisdiction and belonging to mankind's common patrimony;
- 4. Fully equal rights for all states, irrespective of size, development level and political, economic and social system;

5. Each state's right and duty to participate, under fully equal conditions, in examining and resolving all international problems of common interest;
6. Each state's right to base its cooperation with the other states in all fields on mutual advantage;
7. The states' obligation, irrespective of political and social system, to cooperate among themselves in preserving peace and international security and in facilitating the socioeconomic process of all nations, especially of the developing countries, and to benefit from the achievements of modern science and technology;
8. The obligation of all states not to violate, under any circumstance or pretext, each state's sovereign right to develop its domestic and foreign policy in keeping with its national interests;
9. The states' obligation to refrain in their international relations from any military, political, economic or other constraint, from the threat or the use of force against another state under any pretext and in any form and circumstance;
10. The obligation of all states to refrain from any interference in the internal or external affairs of any other state;
11. Each state's inalienable right to its legitimate individual or collective defense, in conformity with article 51 of the UN Charter;
12. The states' obligation to respect each state's inviolability of borders and territorial integrity and to refrain from any threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any state;
13. The obligation of the states to resolve all their differences by peaceful means and to firmly promote direct negotiations as the most adequate means of settling international problems;
14. The right of all peoples under colonial oppression and of those who live under racist regimes to struggle for self-determination and independence and the obligation of all the other states to support their struggle;
15. Each state's obligation to fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed in conformity with the UN Charter, with the universally recognized principles of international law and with the international agreements concluded in accordance with these principles.

The basic principles enumerated above are linked among themselves and each of them must be interpreted within the context of the other principles.

III. Solemnly declare their joint determination to take firm and consistent action, together with the other states, to:

--Effectively implement in international life and in interstate relations the principles included in the preceding chapter to establish a new economic and political order in the world, to firmly eliminate the old and inequitable interstate relations and achieve a better and more just world;

--Resolve the complex problems of the international economic situation, to establish and maintain an appropriate and equitable ratio between the prices of raw materials, or industrial goods and agricultural and food stuffs; the access of all states to the achievements of modern science and technology and to the resources of raw materials and energy and to act to achieve an appropriate share of the developing countries in the world industrial production;

--Adopt firm measures to eliminate the chasms between the developed and developing countries;

--Adopt and apply measures that will stop the arms race, achieve general and total disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, will reduce military budgets, eliminate military blocs and stop war propaganda; create large zones without nuclear weapons; eliminate foreign military bases and bring about the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other states;

--Achieve relations based on equal rights among all world nations, respect for each people's right to choose the social system it desires, without any outside interference; resolve disputes by negotiations, expand multilateral cooperation among all world states and nations;

--Eliminate colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid and other forms of racial discrimination and exploitation of a people by another people, irrespective of race, color, citizenship or any other status;

--Strengthen the role of the United Nations in preserving and strengthening peace and international security, in developing cooperation among all nations and promote the rules of international law in interstate relations.

IV. Calls upon all the other states to assume the following task, together with them:

--To act with complete responsibility to completely eliminate war, any threat or use of force in international relations to resolve all differences among states by peaceful means, by negotiations to benefit the nations and the whole world;

--To firmly promote the establishment of an era of cooperation and peace under conditions of complete security, justice, national and social freedom of all peoples on the basis of the universally recognized principles of international law;

--To act with all energy to establish a new international economic and political order based on fully equal rights of all nations of the world.

V. For the purpose of what has been proclaimed in the above solemn declaration, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Federal Republic of Nigeria declare their joint desire to deepen and expand their consultations by normal diplomatic channels and by regular meetings at all levels.

Issued in Budapest 7 June 1978 in two copies in the Romanian and English languages, both texts having the same validity.

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ROMANIA

BRIEFS

ELECTION OF AKEL'S PAPAIOANNOU--Nicosia (AGERPRES) 29 May--Ezekias Papaioannou, secretary-general of the CC of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), received Mahai Gere, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, who conveyed to him warm congratulations on his election to the office of AKEL secretary-general on behalf of General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and of the RCP leadership. Thanking, E. Papaioannou requested that warm wishes of good health and happiness be conveyed to the RCP general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, and also expressed his wish that the good relations existing between the two parties further develop. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0955 GMT 29 May 78 AU]

REGIONAL PARTY OFFICIALS--Nicosia (AGERPRES) 29 May--Mihai Gere, alternate member of the executive political committee of the CC of the RCP, who represented the RCP at the recent AKEL Congress, met leaders of the Famagusta District Organization of AKEL. Mihalis Boumbouris, member of the political bureau and of the secretariat of the CC of AKEL, secretary of the district party committee, warmly thanked the Romanian Communist Party, the government of Romania for the permanent support given to the just fight of the Cypriot people for the attainment of their aspirations for peace and progress, for living in a free, united and independent Cyprus. Wishing the party organization to successfully carry through the decisions of the 14th AKEL Congress, Mihai Gere reiterated the militant solidarity of the RCP, of the Romanian people with the legitimate cause of the Cypriot people, with their fight for the observance of their right to a free, united and prosperous homeland. Mihai Gere also met the members of the Larnaka District Committee of AKEL. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1943 GMT 29 May 78 AU]

CSO: 2020

YUGOSLAVIA

GENERAL LUKIC INTERVIEWED ON PARTY ACTIVITY IN MACEDONIA

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 6 Mar 78 p 14

[Text] We discussed the precongress activities of the communists in the Skopje army district with Major General Vujo Lukic, secretary of the Conference Committee of the League of Communists organization in this district. The interview was conducted by Cedomir Stojkovski, the chief and responsible editor of the KOMUNIST edition for Macedonia, along with Dragi Milosevski, assistant chief editor, and Ljubodrag Stojadinovic, editor of the Skopje army district newspaper ZA POBEDA.

[Question] Comrade secretary, how do you regard the results achieved and what has been the experience of the communists of the Skopje army district between the two congresses of the LCY?

[Answer] The period between the two LCY congresses is characterized by increased involvement of all communists, by greater responsibility and action capability of the entire LCY organization in this district. In this period very significant results have been achieved in ideological and political education and training, and that is true not only for members of the League of Communists, but also for all other personnel in our units, including the soldiers, leaders and civilian personnel in army service. In fact, intensive ideological and political work began with the treatment of the materials of the Tenth Congress, then was continued in the interpreting of the new constitution, the Law on Associated Labor, and many other significant documents for the further development of our socioeconomic and political system and the system of defense and social self defense. I would like to stress the fact that there have been marked achievements observed in the strengthening of the battle readiness of our units, which is always our chief goal.

Despite everything that we have achieved, I think there is no room for complacency. On the contrary, we are constantly developing a critical and a self-critical relationship toward the results achieved, because that which this year we regard as very good or excellent must be even better next year.

[Question] Would you suggest several significant measures taken to improve the action capability of the basic LCY organizations?

[Answer] In the past period we reduced the number of large basic organizations and formed a number of new ones, thus making it easier for all communists to take part in activities. I consider that that represents an important step in turning from the Tenth Congress directly to the most vital issues, such as the battle preparation of our units, the strengthening of the moral and political status and the ideological and political unity of all army collectives, and their preparedness for thorough implementation of the assignments before them.

I must state that previously we did not have many weaknesses that stemmed from the forum activities of the League of Communists, although such weaknesses did occasionally crop up.

The basic LCY organizations in our army district contain an average of 42 members. It would not be inappropriate to note that our basic organizations hold rather frequent meetings. We have basic LCY organizations that annually average 15-17 meetings. Although certainly the number of meetings held is no measure for evaluating the activities of a basic organization, nonetheless it does speak for increased dynamism in work. The essential point is that the communists are always at the center of action in army life. Here there are almost no meetings of basic organizations where the communists are concerned only about themselves. The meetings are usually of the nature of actions and thematic discussions directed at the vital issues of the environment in which the communists function. The further development of the capability of basic LCY organizations remains, however, our fundamental orientation, in order to successfully implement the leading role of the League of Communists.

[Question] How are all forms of ideological preparation implemented?

[Answer] From the Tenth LCY Congress until the present, we have had intensive and organized work directed at ideological education and training, particularly of young communists. That has been carried out according to the established program for such work. Thus last year in our units there was a very broadly based political school for youth under the auspices of BORBA, entitled: Tito--The Party--The Revolution. Without exception this school was attended for two semesters by all communists, soldiers and a significant number of young communist leaders and civilian personnel. The school's program was also studied by a large number of members of the League of Socialist Youth in our units. Now the program is about completed and testing of the knowledge acquired is under way, after which diplomas will be given indicating completion of the course.

The estimation of the general capability of our units is also better from year to year. More than 80 percent of all rifle range marksmanship carried out by units last year received very good or excellent ratings. To this it should be added that there were no poor ratings, and the number receiving only "good" was reduced.

The Image of the Communist is at the Center of Attention

[Question] How do the basic LCY organizations strive to improve the image of the communist?

[Answer] The struggle for the communist image forms a constant element of the work of our basic LCY organizations. The command of Comrade Tito that all leaders in the JNA should be communists is being implemented successfully. That means that the communists in the army units have comprehended the essence of this request and their responsibility to the LCY and the social community.

In recent years the situation has been that no one rejects or refuses to fulfill his party function, although in the past such examples occurred at times. In the functions of secretaries and members of the secretariats of the basic organizations and committees there are young people, leaders, civilians and soldiers, who very seriously and with utmost responsibility accept their elective function.

In connection with preparing the newly elected secretaries and members of secretariats of basic LCY organizations, the LCY Conference Committee for the Skopje army district strives to organize seminars for them, at which numerous questions are considered and direct assistance is provided in the implementation of their functions.

The activity of the basic LCY organizations has also contributed to increasing the interest of young people in acceptance into the League of Communists. As a result, annually our LCY organization is renewed with an average of 20 to 30 percent of new members. That is no small number. Our organization, however, has a large fluctuation, since acceptance into the party takes place largely among soldiers who come to serve their required military period. Also, I would like to stress that special attention is given to the social class composition. The number of workers in the League of Communists has been increased, so that it constantly hovers at about 50 percent of the new members.

It should be stressed that 99 percent of the officers and 95 percent of the young officers in our units are members of the League of Communists. Another interesting fact is that there is an insignificant number who for various reasons drop out of the League of Communists. Voluntary resignation from the LCY hardly exists here.

[Question] How do you regard the activity of the League of Socialist Youth in the Skopje army district?

[Answer] Since the Tenth LCY Congress, we have formed a League of Socialist Youth organization in the army. It is now to be found in all our units. We have also established a vertical trade union organization, from the basic organizations to a conference in the JNA, which encompasses all civilians employed by the army. Authorization has also been given for conferences of

army collectives, as institutions, which hold regularly scheduled meetings on a definitely established basis, so that by their creative abilities the members can bring their influence to bear on their units. In addition, councils have been formed for internal work and discipline, along with councils for self-defense, which in conjunction with previously established associations for cultural and entertainment activities, facilitate the more complete expression of their adherents. The task of the League of Communists and all its agencies and organizations here is to become as fully as possible incorporated into the political system and to become better organized to implement the leading ideological and political role of the LCY. In this respect there is still much to be done, and our activities are oriented in that direction in preparations for the Eleventh LCY Congress.

[Question] Would you comment on the application of the principle of democratic centralism?

[Answer] Regarding the rendering of assistance and directing the activities of basic organizations, the role of the committee is very important as a leading agency of our organization. We are striving to have members of the committees be activists, who regard their activity not only as presence at committee meetings, but primarily within the framework of their home organizations. In that context, however, the principle of democratic centralism is realized not simply through unity in carrying out tasks assigned by higher agencies, but also through the obligation of the leadership to sum up the experience gained at the base and to keep track of all requests, all comments and criticisms in the basic organizations. Therefore, we must strive increasingly to see to it that the leadership is the bearer of responsibility for constant summation and weighting of any justified requests, criticism and all other comments that come from communists in the basic LCY organizations.

[Question] What do you consider to be the most pressing tasks of the communists of this army district prior to the Eleventh LCY Congress?

[Answer] In a certain manner we have divided those tasks into two groups: activities of an ideological and political nature and direction of communists into concrete practical political actions. We began with a close study of the essay by Comrade Edvard Kardelj. Actions have been organized for processing the Basic Theses for Preparing Positions and Documents of the Eleventh LCY Congress. This began on 1 March, and will be completed on 30 April. The plan provides for each basic organization holding 6 (the number of chapters in the Theses) to 10 meetings.

I think that now, after all that I have said, there is no need for us to adopt any sort of new program. Last year the regular elections were held, programs of actions were adopted, and we will be involved in them until year's end. Finally, I would like to stress that we are organized in such a manner that we can function successfully both as members of the LCY and as personnel of the JNA, in all our commands, because everything is subordinated to the effort to meet the Eleventh LCY Congress with the greatest possible results.

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YUGOSLAVIA

ACTIVITIES OF MACEDONIAN PARTY, STATE LEADERS REPORTED

Taleski, Others Receive DPRK Ambassador

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 8 Jun 78 p 3

[Text] Blagoja Taleski, president of the Macedonian Assembly, received DPRK Ambassador Chong Kwang-sun and had talks with him. During the course of the day, the ambassador was received in individual protocol visits by Blagoj Popov, Vlado Maleski, Tomislav Simovski and Metodi Antov.

Vejseli, Others Visit Jugohrom Enterprise

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 8 Jun 78 p 3

[Text] Dzemail Vejseli, president of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Macedonia; Servet Saliu, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia and Vanco Bliznakovski, president of the Republic Committee of the Trade Union of Industrial and Mine Workers visited the "Jugohrom" Chemical and Electrometallurgical Combine in Jegunovce. They held talks with representatives of its collective regarding the financial difficulties "Jugohrom" is finding itself in.

Angel Cemerski Receives DPRK Ambassador

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 10 Jun 78 p 2

[Text] Angel Cemerski, president of the Central Committee of the LC of Macedonia received Chong Kwang-sun, ambassador of the DPRK to Yugoslavia, who is visiting Macedonia, and had a rather long friendly conversation with him.

Blagoj Popov Receives Australian Official

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 10 Jun 78 p 2

[Text] Blagoj Popov, president of the Macedonian Executive Council, received Walter Jona, minister of Immigration and Ethnic Questions of the Australian

Federal State of Victoria. Jona is a guest of the Office for Macedonian Emigres and will be in Macedonia until 12 June. Besides Skopje, he will visit Krusevo, Bitola, Resen and Ohrid. Minister Jona will be received in individual visits by Petar Dzundev, member of the Executive Council, Dositej, head of the Macedonian Orthodox Church and president of the Office for Macedonian Emigrees, Zhivko Vasilevski.

Taleski Receives Italian Ambassador

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 14 Jun 78 p 3

[Text] Blagoja Taleski, president of the Macedonian Assembly, received Alberto Cavalieri, Italian Ambassador to Yugoslavia, who is on a protocol visit to Macedonia, and held talks with him. Today, Ambassador Cavalieri was also received by Vlado Maleski, member of the Macedonian Presidency, Tomislav Simovski, member of the Macedonian Execution Council and Metodi Antov, president of the Skopje Municipal Assembly. He also visited Mateja Matevski, president of the Republic Commission for Cultural Ties With Foreign Countries.

Cemerski, Others Receive Italian Ambassador

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 15 Jun 78 p 3

[Text] Angel Cemerski, president of the Central Committee of the LC of Macedonia, and Krste Markovski, president of the Republic Conference of the SAWP of Macedonia, received Italian Ambassador to the SFRY Alberto Cavalieri in separate visits, and had friendly talks with him.

Blagoj Popov, president of the Macedonian Executive Council, received Italian Ambassador Cavalieri in a protocol visit. Ambassador Cavalieri also visited with Niko Nica, vice president of the Economic Chamber of Macedonia, and Nikola Adamov, acting director of the "Makedonija" Agriculture and Food Combine.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

KRAIGHER WITH THAI AMBASSADOR--In Ljubljana on 7 June, Sergej Kraigher, president of the Slovenian Presidency received Vaikunda Sampruatriumamol, ambassador of the Kingdom of Thailand to the SFRY on a regular protocol visit. The Thai Ambassador was also received by Ludvik Golob, vice president of the Slovenian Assembly; Zvone Dragan, vice president of the Slovenian Executive Council, and Marjan Rozic, president of the Ljubljana Municipal Assembly. [Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 8 Jun 78 p 2]

SOVIET ACADEMICIANS VISIT--On 7 June, Zdravko Praznik, Director of the Planning Institute of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, received Soviet academician Aleksey Romyantsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Pavel Bunich, president of the Scientific Section of the Soviet Society for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, who is also a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and head of the Chair for Administration at the Moscow Ordzonikidze Institute. The two academicians are in Slovenia at the invitation of the Slovenian League of Economists. [Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 8 Jun 78 p 2]

CARTUSIAN LEADERS RECEIVED--On 7 June, Stane Kolman, president of the Slovenian Commission for Relations With Religious Communities, received the top leaders of the Cartusion Order, Dr Feliks Bissik, and Dr Albert Hoehne, who are visiting the Cartusian Priory in Pleterje. Janez Drolc, Prior of the Cartusian, also participated in the talks. [Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 8 Jun 78 p 2]

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